

PREFACE *R. V. NS*

It gives us great pleasure in placing the proceedings of the Second Session of the Rajasthan History Congress held at Jaipur in 1968. A number of papers of outstanding merit were presented at this Session, breaking new ground and adding much to our knowledge of Rajasthan History. Some of these contributions could indeed do honour and credit to scholarship anywhere in our country.

The papers have been arranged according to the traditional and chronological order to some extent. Inadequacy of funds and the consequent paucity of space did not allow some good papers to be published in full. For the same reason, papers which were not presented at the Session by the authors, had to be left out.

We take this opportunity to thank Dr. M. S. Jain, Dr. V. K. Vashishtha, Shri K. L. Mod and Shri Hari Shankar Sharma for their kind help and co-operation in preparing the present volume. We are also thankful to Shri N. K. Kaushik and Shri Mohan Lal Sharma and their efficient staff for executing the work with skill and care. In a volume of this size and in a short time that it has been printed, some mistakes might have crept in, inspite of every care. We crave indulgence of readers for these short-comings.

30-11-1969
Rajasthan University,
Jaipur-4

G. N. Sharma
Secretary,
Rajasthan History Congress

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. A. L. Srivastava,

M.A. Ph.D. D. Lit., (Agra) D. Litt. (Lucknow)

Your Excellency, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am highly grateful to the authorities of the Rajasthan History Congress for asking me to preside over the Second Annual Session of the Congress meeting appropriately at this historic city of Jaipur. I appreciate the honour all the more as I do not have the privilege of birth or permanent residence in Rajasthan. But I spent full sixteen years of the best part of my life as a teacher of history in two of its notable Government Colleges and trained over a dozen research scholars belonging to this region in History, Political Science and Economics for the doctorate degrees of the Universities of Agra and Rajasthan. I had for years been associated with the various academic bodies, including the Research Board, of this University. Even now I am an active Research Guide of this University and of the Birla Institute of Technology and Science, and a Visiting Professor and Research Guide at the Banasthali Vidyapeeth. Consequently, I feel more than mere intellectual kinship with you, and claim a deep and abiding interest not only in the history and culture of Rajasthan, but also in the welfare of its people.

My predecessor in this Chair, Dr. M.L. Sharma, presented in his learned address last year a bird's eye-view of the political history of Rajasthan through the ages. I deem it unnecessary to repeat or even to recapture what he said on that important occasion. I will, however, like to make a few observations about Rajasthan's role in the history of the Indian sub continent, and to examine some of the main problems of the historiography of this very important State of the Republic of India. True it is that Rajasthan is an ancient region and has had its valuable proto-history and pre-history going back to the days of the Indus Valley and Harappan civilisation. But it was during the medieval age that its rulers and people made their distinctive contributions and successfully stemmed the tide of the Arab and Turko-Afghan invasions and expansion for centuries together, and saved the religion and culture of this land from the onslaughts of militant Islam. Perhaps no other part of India rendered a great service to the cause of defending, saving and conserving the ancient Hindu culture as Rajasthan. Three valiant Rajput clans made the greatest sacrifices in defence of India's freedom, religion and culture. They were the Chauhans, the Guhilots (later their Sisodia branch) and the Rathors. Other clans besides these three also participated in the medieval struggle for independence; but the pride of place goes to these three and to their people of all castes and persuasions.

Taking a panoramic view, we can roughly divide the history of Rajasthan, when studied from the above point of view, into four broad and meaningful periods, viz., (1) the early period from the birth of the chief ruling dynasties to 1561 A.D.; (2) from 1562 to 1735, which may be designated as the Mughal age; (3) the period of Maratha domination from 1740 to 1817; and (4) the age of British paramountcy from 1818 to 1947. The first or the formative period, was one of freedom and independence when Rajasthan did not, generally speaking, owe allegiance to any outside authority, and fought gallantly to defend that freedom and independence, and in spite of many ups and downs, managed to retain the independence and integrity of the several States into which it was divided. In this noble task of the preservation of freedom all had their share, but the brunt of the fighting fell to the three Rajput clans referred to. They resisted the Turko-Afghan invaders for nearly four hundred years and prevented the Sultans of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat and the first two Mughal emperors, Babur and Humayun, from establishing their suzerainty permanently over this region. Among the Chauhans of Sakambhari and Ajmer, who were the first to face the Turkish invaders from the North-West, the names of Arnoraja, Vigharaja IV (alias Bisal-Deva) and Prithvi Raj III stand pre-eminent. Nor did the Chauhan struggle against the Turkish-invaders come to an end with the fall of Prithviraj. His younger brother, Hari Raj and his famous kinsmen of Nadol continued to fight and harass Qutb-ud-din Aibak and his successors, and did not allow them to rest in peace. Among the Chauhan rulers of Ranthambhor, Vir Narayan, Vagbhata and Jaitra Simha struggled hard against the early Sultans of Delhi and retained their rule over their celebrated fort and kingdom. It was, however, Hammir (1283-1301) who immortalised himself in his ceaseless wars with Jalal-ud-din Firoz Khalji (1290-1296) and Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316). He disdained surrender, and preferred a heroic death (July 10, 1301 A.D.). He has left a name, and an example of dash, bravery, self-sacrifice and dogged determination. The Chauhans of Jalor (ancient Javalipura) were not behind those of Sakambhari, Nadol and Ranthambhor in the noble task of defence of their religion and motherland. Udaisimha of Jalor (1205-1257) put up almost a continuous fight against the early Sultans of Delhi in which he was often victorious. Iltutmish captured Mandor in 1236; but Udai Simha recovered it soon after. In 1298, Kanahada Deva, son of the reigning monarch Samant Simha, was strong enough to decline Ala-ud-din Khalji's request to allow his army a passage through the Jalor territory on its way to invade Gujarat. When the Khalji army on its return march to Delhi intentionally took the Marwar route in order to punish the ruler of Jalor, Kanahada Deva's troops made a determined attack on the enemy, inflicting heavy losses and liberating thousands of Hindu prisoners from his clutches. Ulugh Khan, the Commander of the Khalji army, however, managed to escape. Ala-ud-din had patience to wait for a few years till

he had greatly augmented his army and resources. Then he turned to Jalor, and after a few preliminary engagements in which the Chauhans gave a good account of themselves, he besieged Siwana, an appanage of Jalor, and captured it after its intrepid ruler Satala Deva had fallen fighting bravely to his last breath. After repeated attempts, which were attended with many a failure, Ala-ud-din ultimately besieged Jalor and got admittance into the impregnable fort through the treachery of one Bika Dahiya. A fierce hand to hand fight ensued and Kanhada Deva fought most valiantly and desperately, but in vain. The Rajput ladies had already performed *Jauhar*. The hero then fell surrounded by his fifty brave and trusted warriors (1315).

The mantle of the Chauhans fell on the Guhilots. Jaitra Simha was one of the first, if not exactly the first, ruler of Mewar to measure swords with the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi. In or about 1222 A.D. he fought and repelled an attack by Ilutush on Nagda, then capital of his kingdom. In 1248 he defended his State against an intrusion by Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's troops, who had penetrated into the interior of Mewar. His son Tej Simha seems to have repelled two invasions of his dominions by Balban. It was, however, during the reign of Tej Simha's grandson Ratna Simha that the memorable defence of Chittor against Ala-ud-din Khalji's powerful invasion and siege in 1303, A.D., made the Rajputs of Mewar immortal in the chequered annals of India. In this heroic defence fell Rana Lakshman Simha on whom had devolved the responsibility of the defence of Chittor in the absence of Ratna Simha, and his seven sons, besides 30,000 rank and file. Though the Khalji imperialists occupied the fort and a large part of Mewar, a portion of it remained in the possession of the younger branch of the ruling family. Hamir, a scion of this Rana branch, whose headquarters were at the village of Sisoda, succeeded in recovering Chittor and expelling the enemy in or about 1321 (1338 according to another account.)

Hamir's son Kshetra Simha (1398-1405) defended Mewar from the invasion of Dilawar Khan Ghuri of Malwa, who was beaten and obliged to retreat. It was now Kshetra Simha's turn to invade Malwa some years later, and to crush Dilawar once for all. Kshetra Simha's grandson Mokal (1420-1433) captured the principality of Nagaur, which had been in Muslim possession since 1112 A.D., and came into conflict with the Sultan of Gujarat, who was the protector of the Muslim chief of Nagaur. Mokal's son, Kumbha (1433-1473), whose accession took place amidst most depressing circumstances, rose to be one of the greatest rulers of the Sultanate period (1206-1526) of Indian history. After taking the reins of government in his own hands Kumbha found himself pitted during nearly half of his reign against the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat, who made repeated attacks, now singly and now jointly, on Mewar. The Rana bravely and successfully defended the integrity and independence of his

paternal kingdom. He recovered by force the strategic fortress of Nagaur which had again fallen into Muslim possession after Mokal's death. During the reign of Rai Mal there was a renewal of conflict with Malwa. Ghiyas-ud din Khalji (1469-1500) penetrated into Mewar as far as Chittor where he was defeated and driven back to Malwa. The Sultan, however, returned to attack and advanced as far as Mandalgarh where he was again defeated by the Rana. It was now the Rana's turn to invade Malwa, and occupy the district of Kherwara.

After a short interval the throne of Mewar passed to Sangram Singh, the famous Sanga, in 1509. He was an ambitious ruler and cleverly turned the social pre-eminence enjoyed by his family among the princes of Rajasthan, to political advantage. He assisted Medini Rai, the prime minister of the Sultan of Malwa, against an invasion by Muzaffar II of Gujarat. The latter invaded Mewar in full strength a number of times and was defeated year after year. In 1519 Sanga inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa and took him as prisoner to Chittor where he had to stay for six months. He was, however, allowed to go after signing a treaty agreeing to pay a war indemnity, to surrender the gold cap and belt which were the heirlooms of the Malwa ruling family, and to send his son to the Rana's court as a pledge of the future good relations between Malwa and Mewar.

Sanga's next exploit was against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi. Ibrahim was defeated in a battle near Dholpur. But the Sultan sent another army soon after. This time too the Delhi army suffered defeat. Sanga's success against the Sultan of Delhi not only brought him great reputation, but also an accession of territory consisting of Raisen, Kalpi and Chanderi, and his status as the overlord of the whole of Rajasthan became confirmed beyond doubt.

The crowning act of Sanga's ambition was to dispute Babur's claim for the sovereignty of Northern India. It was unfortunate that in spite of his bravery, courage and dash he failed to dislodge Babur, for Khanua witnessed a contest between two different systems of warfare and arrows failed to answer bullets. Nevertheless Babur shrank from the task of invading Mewar and the Rana lost no territory except Chanderi.

Mewar was invaded twice by Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, first early in 1533 and then early in 1535 when the State was torn by dissensions among its barons. When all seemed to have been lost the brave Rajput ladies conducted the fearful rite of *Jauhar*, and the men folk put up a most desperate defence. Chittor fell in March 1535, but was recovered almost immediately after. Humayun, who was appealed to for help, failed to rise to the occasion and remained encamped at Man dasor to start a campaign against his enemy Bahadur as soon as the latter was free from the siege of Chittor.

As regards the Rathors, when their nascent State of Marwar was slowly emerging into importance in the early years of the 14th century A.D., they found themselves encircled on three sides—south, east and north-east—by the territories of the Delhi Sultanate (and its feudatories) under the mighty Ala-ud din Khalji whose ambition was not to leave a single independent prince in India. Naturally the Rathors came into clash with the Khaljis and their feudatories, and in the several encounters that followed five of their princes, one after another, took a valiant part and three of them,—Kahnawal, Jalansi and Tido fell fighting against the enemy. A crowning achievement of the Rathor prince Chunda (1383-1423) was the capture, in alliance with the dispossessed Parihars, of Mandor from the Muslims and making it the capital of his kingdom. He conquered Nagaur, which had been a bone of contention between Marwar, Mewar and other neighbouring Hindu States on the one hand and the Muslim chief of the place and his liege lord, the Sultan of Gujarat on the other, but had to lose it soon after. After his death in 1423 his son Ran Malla captured that principality. It was Ran Malla's son, Jodha (1438-1488), who founded the present town of Jodhpur in 1459, and wrested Ajmer and the adjacent territories from their Muslim rulers. On account of constant warfare between the Rathors and their neighbours the principalities of Nagaur, Jalor, Sanchor, and Merta were very often changing hands, and at the time when Rao Ganga became the ruler of Jodhpur in 1515, Nagaur was in the possession of Sarkhel Khan, Jalor and Sanchor in that of Sikandar Khan (who owed allegiance to the Sultan of Gujarat) and Merta in that of Biram Dudawat. In 1525 Ganga seated his nominee Ghazi Khan on the *gaddi* of Jalor, and in 1527 he participated in the battle of Khanua as an ally of Sanga. In 1529 he defeated and killed Sarkhel Khan of Nagaur. It was, however, Rao Ganga's son Maldeva who raised Marwar to a position of eminence amongst the States of Rajasthan. In pursuit of his policy of expansion he came into clash with the Mughal emperor Humayun and the latter's rival Sher Shah Suri. He invited the fugitive Humayun to Jodhpur in June 1541, promising to assist him in regaining the throne of Delhi. But Humayun reached the vicinity of Jodhpur one year late, when the political situation in Northern India had undergone a great change and Sher Shah was almost free to turn his attention towards Rajasthan. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Rathors put up a most stiff fight against the Afghan ruler and Sher Shah was obliged to admit that he had almost lost the kingdom of Hindustan for a handful of *bajra* (millet). Sher Shah established his temporary hold on Marwar including its capital Jodhpur. Maldeva, however, succeeded in regaining possession of his State within less than two years.

To summarise briefly it is worthy of note that the first period of Rajasthan's history down to 1561 is a glorious record of almost four

hundred-year-long proud and ceaseless resistance against the Turko-Afghan invaders from the north-west and the aggressive policy of expansion of the Sultans of Delhi and those of Malwa and Gujarat. Although time and again the Rajput forces suffered reverses, and some parts of the region passed temporarily into the hands of the invaders, Rajasthan, on the whole, succeeded in preserving its freedom. This period of independence and sovereignty when Rajasthan fought on equal terms against the Sultans of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat and when religion, culture and arts and the Hindu way of life flourished, may be looked upon as the brightest period of Rajasthan's history.

The period beginning from 1562 and ending with 1735 was in its initial years one of resistance for the retention of sovereignty. But within nine years Rajasthan witnessed the loss of its freedom except for a small patch of territory comprising the western half of Mewar. In 1615 even that part had to fall in line with the rest of the country. Broadly speaking this period of Rajasthan's history was characterised by full internal autonomy of the individual States under the Mughal suzerainty. Whereas during the first period the lead in the policy of resistance was taken by the Chauhans, in the second period the policy of accepting Mughal suzerainty without reservation was enunciated by the ruling house of Amber. Raja Bhar Mal was the first Rajput chief of rank to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and to enter into a friendly and matrimonial alliance with him in February, 1562. Other ruling houses in the region followed suit, some of them not without making a powerful bid for freedom. The fortress of Merta and the surrounding country fell after a most desperate resistance by the Rathors in 1562. The capital city of Jodhpur came into Mughal hands soon after (1562), and Ram Singh, son of Maldeva, acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty. The invasion of Mewar and the siege of Chittor by Akbar in 1567 where the Sisodias fought most heroically and where 30,000 men fell in defence of freedom and liberty, need no repetition. The celebrated fortress of Ranthambhor fell in 1569 after a valiant struggle by Surjan Hada. Akbar held a conference at Nagaur in 1570, and received some of those Rajput rulers who had not yet entered into an alliance with him. Rai Kalyanmal of Bikaner and Rawal Har Rai of Jaisalmer accepted Akbar's suzerainty without a fight. By the end of 1570 all the prominent rulers of Rajasthan except the Rana of Udaipur had submitted to Akbar and recognised him as their overlord. They entered into Akbar's service and were enrolled as mansabdars of high rank. Much of this success was due to the leading role of the ruling family of Amber, whose intercession and persuasion made most of the rulers of Rajasthan fall in line with Amber. The rulers of Banswara and Dungarpur were a little late in accepting Akbar as their suzerain. They did it in 1577, a few months after the defeat of Rana Pratap at the battle of Haldi Ghati. Sirohi and Bundj followed suit in the same year (1577). It may be said that

Pratap continued defying the Mughal might all his life and the issue before him was that the Rana must not be compelled to attend the Mughal court, to enrol himself as a mansabdar, and to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Emperor. Two other lesser chiefs—Chandra Sen Rathor and Duda Hada—never submitted to the Mughals. Pratap's son and successor Amar Singh continued resistance for more than fifteen years, and eventually entered into an honourable peace, on the very terms which Pratap had demanded with Jahangir, in 1615. After Mewar's submission in 1615 there was no fighting in Rajasthan for the preservation of its independence. Some resistance was shown to the Mughals here and there, but it was not in the nature of a war for freedom. This fighting—and there was something of it—was not a challenge to Mughal suzerainty, but was in the nature of a rebellion here and there against real or fancied grievances.

Rajasthan's loss of freedom was compensated by the absence of inter state warfare and open dynastic conflict, by internal peace and order, and freedom from external danger. All this made that level of economic, social and cultural progress of the region possible which it had not attained during the preceding age. At the same time it ensured the Rajputs greater opportunities for the exercise of their special talent for war and conquest in the entire sub-continent and beyond. Rajasthan's loss of its sovereignty proved to be a gain for the empire as a whole. It made possible the emergence of a powerful central government for the whole of Northern India and a large part of the South. The Rajputs contributed to the expansion, consolidation and enrichment of the empire in various fields of activity. Their greatest contribution, indirect though it was, was the generation of those forces which made the Mughal policy in spirit and to a large extent in form also, truly national. Their unquestioned loyalty to the Mughal crown and their unexampled service to the cause of the empire begot that trust in Akbar and his immediate successors for the Rajput race in particular and the Hindus in general which became the greatest single factor responsible for shaping the Mughal policy of religious toleration and that of cultural and material well-being of the people of the country. It will thus be seen that Rajasthan's role in the expansion and stability of the Mughal empire and the greatness and prosperity of India during the Mughal age was in no way negligible.

The birth of the third fateful period of Rajasthan's history coincides with the decline of the Mughal empire and the beginning of Maratha incursion into Northern India and it ends with the establishment of British paramourcy in the country.

In this period too Jaipur led the way. Sawai Jai Singh II (1699-1743) celebrated as the astronomer-prince and founder of the city of Jaipur, who held the governorship of Agra and Malwa during the closing years of his life, introduced the policy of buying the Maratha invaders of the

latter province, and induced them to retire by promising them *chauth* for Malwa on behalf of Emperor Muhammad Shah in April 1735. On his invitation Peshwa Bajirao (1720-1740) who was himself keen to impose [*chauth*] on the States of Rajasthan by peaceful persuasion, if possible, visited Rajasthan early in 1736. He arrived near Mewar and interviewed Maharana Jagat Singh II at the village of Ahar in January of that year. The Maharana was obliged to sign a treaty agreeing to pay an annual tribute (*chauth*) of rupees one lakh and sixty thousand. Other States, which too were actually helpless, agreed to bind themselves to pay similar tributes, which were never paid except at the threat and very often by the use of force. The cost of Maratha troops that were employed to enforce payment along with the tributes swelled to staggering figures, and kept Rajasthan under perpetual Maratha debt. Besides, the disputed successions and dynastic wars in which the Marathas were invited to intervene on behalf of one and sometimes by both the parties which promised fabulous sums of money as the price of their assistance, furnished opportunities for Maratha interference in the internal affairs of Rajasthan. The country was bled white and became a prey to anarchy. Confusion became worse confounded when the Pathan freebooter Amir Khan levied blackmail from most of the States, particularly Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur, and plundered and ravaged their territories at will. He was responsible for advising the Maharana to poison the innocent Krishna Kumari to death in order to prevent a deadly war between Jaipur and Jodhpur. The Maharana could not venture to lead a procession on the occasion of the annual festival of Gangor and had to raise an obscure Muslim captain to the 17th rank among the highest nobility of Mewar for his services in protecting the procession from the freebooters. Such was the condition of Rajasthan during the anarchy of the second half of the 18th century.

It was during this period of confusion and anarchy that the Rajputs began to lose their noble qualities of courage and bravery, heroism and chivalry, love of truth and fidelity to their plighted word which had been the distinguishing features of their character for many centuries in the past. The new superior systems of warfare and weaponry introduced by the Europeans in the 18th century were beyond their comprehension and means, but like other Indian princes of the time they began to employ as commanders and generals—second or third rate Europeans, Indian Christians and Goanese, who though dressed in western military attire, were bereft of the knowledge of military science, to raise battalions after European fashion. This taxed their resources, but did not improve their military strength. The historian Jadunath Sarkar deploras the degeneration of the Rajput race which to use his words had “represented the noblest elements of the Hindu character.” Their decay and downfall—an important subject of investigation for a modern researcher—proved to be a great loss to the country.

The fourth period began with the establishment of British paramountcy by Marquess of Hastings in 1818 on the eve of his campaign for the extermination of the Maratha power and ended with the attainment of independence by India on August 15, 1947. Rajasthan had been so greatly exhausted and laid low by the Maratha reign of terror and by the anarchy created by its own feudal nobility that its rulers readily submitted to the British without any kind of resistance. One by one, and within two or three months, all the rulers entered into a subordinate alliance with the Company's central government in India, agreeing, in return for protection, to recognise British paramountcy and to pay tribute, hand-over their defence and foreign policies to the British and to expell all Europeans from their service. The subsidiary alliances gave full protection to the States from foreign invasion and civil war, but deprived the rulers of their capacity for war, diplomacy and administration and made them indolent and pleasure loving, cruel and avaricious. In short, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar again observes, the Rajputs behaved during the British period, "as autocrats without the moral justification of being the leaders in war and fathers of clans that the founders of their dynasties had been. Civil war, as a test for the survival of the fittest to rule, was now barred out by British bayonets." The people suffered from the effects of autocratic rule and feudal organisation of society and although the British tried to remove the political evils of feudalism by keeping under control the lawless activities of the refractory nobles in the States and propping up the authority of the Rajas, the latter were not encouraged to reform the social, economic and moral conditions of their subjects. The result was "a sharp cleavage in the standard of education and the conditions of life between British India and the protected States....." This disparity began gradually to liquidate itself after the formation of the State of Rajasthan and the establishment of people's rule that came in the wake of the country's independence.

A word about the main problems of our historiography will not be amiss. The genuine historian, who would not like to leave any source untapped, faces several real difficulties not the least important of which is that of the linguistic equipment in which a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, Dingal, various dialects of Rajasthani, Persian and Marathi, to say nothing of various other languages of India, and of French and Portuguese is indispensable. Unfortunately the study of the Persian language, which no student of Rajasthan's history can ignore except at his peril, is becoming rare even in our universities. I drew attention to this sad state of affairs in my presidential address to the Mughal Section of the Indian History Congress in 1952. Sixteen years have elapsed, and the problem remains untouched. Nay, it has worsened. Our research scholars and even research guides depend upon English, Hindi and Urdu translations of the originals and ignore those of them that have not been

translated. Equally distressing is the fact that we have not been insisting on the acquisition of an accurate knowledge of all periods of Indian history and of a fair acquaintance with the main trends of the world history by our research scholars before assigning to them subjects or topics of research. The result is that they have no solid cultural background and very often approach the problems relating to their special period and region, in isolation. We should train ourselves to make use of the telescope as well as the microscope of our mind, to weigh, as it were in a balance, conflicting evidence on points of fact and interpretation and to cultivate a sense of freedom from bias of all denominations. In short, a historian must not be overwhelmed and submerged by facts and details, but must rise above them, to have a detached view of his subject of research.

In the second place, we have had hitherto separate histories of the individual dynasties or erstwhile States of this region, but no history of Rajasthan, though modern authors have recently adopted this attractive title for their works. And it is not an easy thing to attempt successfully such a work, keeping the unified Rajasthan in view, for such a history can be written only if it is possible to conceive of Rajasthan of the ancient and medieval age as one single political entity, which it was not. This is the problem of problems for us. It baffled eminent scholars like James Tod and G. H. Ojha and it is baffling us today. Every serious scholar must remember that a collection of the histories of the former princely States of this region cannot constitute the history of Rajasthan, because the history of Rajasthan does not amount to a mere aggregate of the histories of all its former constituents. For the historian of Rajasthan the histories of the individual erstwhile States are important only in so far as they interlock with one another to constitute a significant element in the development of the region as a whole. He is less concerned with an exhaustive account of the histories of the separate former States than with their periods of interaction and fusion into larger movements and developments. In short, the focus of the historian of Rajasthan is not this former State or that, this dynasty or that : it is Rajasthan as a whole. My learned friend, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, has been attempting to work on these lines, and it is hoped that *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, a commendable project of the enlightened Government of this State, when completed, will give us an integrated picture of Rajasthan of the past. Dr. Gopi Nath Sharma too has adopted the same policy in respect of social and economic history of the region.

An equally important problem before us is how to avoid the temptation to which scholars of local and regional history often succumb. It is that of exaggerating or unduly emphasizing the contributions of the region to the neglect or detriment of those of the nation or of the other constituents of the country. For example, while stressing Rajasthan's long

struggle against the Turko-Afghan onslaughts, one should not forget that the medieval tiny province of Sind had resisted the Arabs for over seventy years. Hindu Afghanistan had fought for 220 years, Panjab for 150 years, and the region now known as Uttar Pradesh, particularly the Doab, had resisted and seldom paid tribute to the Sultans except at the point of bayonet till the end of the Sultanate period. Writers of regional histories are very often prone to parochialism. We have to guard against this tendency by ensuring detachment and perspective, and cultivating proportion in the investigation and interpretation of facts. It should not be forgotten that all our States are integral parts of India and their interests need not clash with those of the country as a whole. The historian of Rajasthan must not, therefore, narrow down his vision to the part to the exclusion of the whole.

Let me conclude, ladies and gentlemen, by quoting a saying, namely that all history is current history. Although the historian's business is the pursuit of truth and nothing but the truth, yet he must inform and inspire the present and help shaping a bright future.

RAJASTHAN HISTORY CONGRESS
JAIPUR SESSION, 1968—ANNUAL REPORT

DR. G. N. SHARMA.

*Your Excellency, Mr. President, Vice-Chancellor, Brother & Sister Delegates
Ladies and Gentlemen*

I am exceedingly grateful to you all members of the Rajasthan History Congress for the great honour which you have conferred on me by electing me the Secretary of the Congress for a term of three years. Although I have no pretensions to historical scholarship I have all along been a keen and earnest student of the history of Rajasthan and I am extremely grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of associating myself with this academic organisation.

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Rajasthan History Congress for the year 1968.

As you are all aware, the University of Jodhpur invited the Congress to hold its First Session at Jodhpur on the 15th and 16th December, 1967. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jodhpur, Dr. M. L. Roonwal, welcomed the Chief Guest as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. I as a Secretary read the Secretarial Report and Dr. R. P. Vyas, Local Secretary of the Congress, read out the messages received on that occasion. Hon'ble Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, D. S. Dave, favoured us by inaugurating the session. Dr. M. L. Sharma, a distinguished scholar of Rajasthan history, delivered his inspiring Presidential Address. The inaugural function closed with the words of thanks by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, an eminent scholar of Rajasthan history.

The programme of paper-reading and discussions was spread over three sittings. As many as sixty-nine papers had been received from different places in the country for the Jodhpur Session. The Chopasani Session of paper-reading was very interesting. The Director of the Research Institute of Chopasani not only provided adequate space for holding afternoon session but also extended hospitality to the entire body.

An Exhibition organised during this occasion by Dr. Mahavir Singh Gahlot was of immense utility and interest.

The total number of the members enlisted for the First Session was 130, including the delegates from Government institutions.

In the afternoon of the 15th December, 1967 a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Rajasthan History Congress was held with

Dr. M. L. Sharma in the Chair. The Report of the Secretary was confirmed. It was resolved and confirmed that about 1000 copies of the Proceedings be published. They may be distributed among the members of the Reception Committee also. It was further resolved and confirmed that the remaining copies of the Proceedings be put to sale at a cost of Rs 20/- each. The amount of the sale proceeds be added to the fund of the Congress. An account of the Income and Expenditure alongwith the statement of the likely proposed expenditure was presented by the Treasurer which was approved. It was also resolved that Shri U. S. Lekhi and Company, Chartered Accountant, Jaipur be requested to audit the accounts of Income and Expenditure of the Congress for the year 1967. It was further resolved that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur be requested for inviting the Second Session of the Congress at Jaipur. The Secretary was authorised by the Executive Committee to make arrangements for the publication of the Proceedings of 1967.

The first annual Business Meeting of the Rajasthan History Congress was held on the evening of the 16th December, 1967 at Mandor. The items resolved and recommended by the Executive Committee were confirmed by the body. Under the constitution the body further elected unanimously following office-bearers and the members of the Executive Committee for the term as proposed by Shri N. R. Khadgawat and seconded by Dr. G. C. Pande :—

1. Heads of the Departments of History of universities of Rajasthan.
2. Director of Archives, Rajasthan, Director of Archaeology & Museum, Rajasthan, and Director of College Education, Rajasthan.
3. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, the President of the Association.
4. Dr. R. N. Chaudhary, Dr. G. C. Varma and Dr. G. R. Parihar three representatives from the College in Rajasthan.
5. Dr. G. N. Sharma, Secretary of the Association.
6. Dr. R. P. Vyas, Joint Secretary,
7. Dr. M. S. Jain, Treasurer.
8. Dr. K. S. Gupta and Dr. N. S. Bhati- two members co-opted by the Executive Committee.

The chair then moved the resolution and was unanimously passed that the Rajasthan History Congress places on record, its grateful thanks to the University of Jodhpur for its kind invitation to hold the first Session, and its sense of appreciation for the generous hospitality offered by the Reception Committee and the Local Secretary.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Rajasthan History Congress is meeting in the *historic* city of Jaipur which enjoys an international reputation and attracts distinguished visitors from all over the world on account of its historical buildings, cultural and academic traditions.

During the year under review the Congress has registered two Life Members and about 100 ordinary members. A perusal of the list of the members reveals that the Rajasthan History Congress can now rightly claim to be an all Rajasthan Organisation, with members from every division and every university in Rajasthan. Our Executive Committee also fully reflects this character. However, one dejecting feature during the year under review is a slight decrease in membership and a lack of response from the last year's members. This is mainly due to the recent postal troubles and dreaded drought that Rajasthan is facing. I take this opportunity to appeal to our existing members to make vigorous efforts to enröl new members for the Congress. This would certainly strengthen the organisation and enable it to render more constructive service to historical studies and research.

The audited statement of accounts for the year 1967, submitted separately, will make it clear that the financial position of our Association is precarious. The financial stringency has prevented us from undertaking our activities beyond the holding of the Annual Session and that too by the heroic efforts of begging from door to door. However, I am glad to let you know that notwithstanding many handicaps, we have been able to publish the Proceedings of the Session 1967, up to date. Of course, the volume of Proceedings had to be necessarily shortened because of inadequacy of funds, and good papers have to be summarized. Under these circumstances I earnestly feel that without a generous grant from the Government, Industrialists, Businessmen and the generous public, the Congress will be experiencing financial difficulties.

So far as the academic side of the Congress is concerned, a number of outstanding contribution in the form of papers have been received for the Jaipur Session, which, I hope, will add much to our information and historical understanding of Rajasthan history. They will not only do honour to the local scholarship but will provide a co-ordinating link between the study of Indian history and that of the regional history, free from parochialism.

Let me say a word for our Chief Guest and the President. It is a source of great gratification to us, and I am sure it will be to you all, that Hon'ble Governor, Shri Hukam Singh, has kindly agreed to inaugurate the Second Session of the Rajasthan History Congress. It is due to his interest in the University of Rajasthan that we are holding this Second Session at Jaipur. Similarly, we have the good fortune of having Dr. A. L. Srivastava as our President for this Session whose reputation

as a profound and distinguished scholar of Mediæval and Modern Indian History has crossed the frontiers of our country.

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Rajasthan History Congress, I offer our profound gratefulness to the Vice-Chancellor, University, of Rajasthan, for inviting us to hold this Session at Jaipur and extending all help that was needed. I also take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities Udaipur and Jodhpur, the Director of College Education, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Director of Archives, Director of Public Relations and Director of Gazetteers, who have encouraged young scholars, like previous year, by deputing them to participate in the Session. I am also indebted to the Local Reception Committee and the Local Secretary, for making the necessary arrangement for the session of the Congress. I cannot omit mentioning the names of Dr. G. C. Pande, and Dr. M. S. Jain from whom I received all kinds of help and encouragement. I offer our sincere thanks to my colleagues, Shri Suresh Chandra, Shri S. K. Gupta and Dr. V. K. Vashishtha who have offered their valuable help to me in executing works of serious nature.

Brother and sister delegates ! I am deeply beholden to you for your presence which will prove to be academically fruitful and socially enjoyable. Please overlook the inconveniences, and help us to make the Second Session a success.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PRE-HARAPPAN CULTURE AND ITS SITES OF RAJASTHAN

DR. SAIYA PRAKASH.

Excavations in Northern Rajasthan at Kalibangan have yielded material, rich in both quality and quantity, akin to what was found some forty-four years or so back at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, now forming part of Pakistan. Nohar and Sothi had produced, some seventeen years back, as a result of archaeological explorations, such material as was not similar to the one produced at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Scholars had, on this basis, then, surmised that these two sites were post-Harappan ones. But recent excavations at Kalibangan have proved beyond doubt that lower levels at Kalibangan yield pre-Harappan material and that the same type of material was found available at Nohar and Sothi in the course of explorations there in the year 1950-51. A comparative study of the material, available from the lower and upper levels of Kalibangan, conclusively proves that before the Harappans arrived at Kalibangan, the site was under occupation and the people, who were living there, had a different way of life. Their culture was not so developed as that of their successors. Though Nohar and Sothi have not yet known the scientific use of spade, a study of the surface-finds from there shows that the Pre-Harappans occupied those sites as well. This study has been made possible as a result of the excavations, conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India there for a period of about eight years.

THE LATE STONE AGE SITE OF BAGOR AND ITS CULTURE-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

V. N. MISRA

Rajasthan is one of these regions of our country whose history goes back to several tens of thousands of years. Of this long period barely a little over two thousand years are known through conventional sources, that is, written documents. The absence of written documents, however, need not deter the historian from probing into the remote past. He must take recourse to non-literary or archaeological sources and methods. It is only in the last two decades that this rich prehistoric past of the State has begun to be unfolded. We now know the existence of three distinct stone age cultures in Rajasthan, namely, (1) the Early Stone Age (Lower Palaeolithic), (2), the Middle Stone Age (Middle-Upper Palaeolithic), and (3) the Late Stone Age (Mesolithic). We also know something of the earliest village cultures based on a sedentary farming economy which ultimately paved the way for the rise of urbanisation and civilization which form the subject of study for the traditional historian (Misra 1967). Our knowledge of all these cultures, however, consists of a bare

outline. Much further work is needed to turn this outline into a true picture, to tell us of the geographical extent of various cultures, their evolution, material culture, economic and social organisation, and other aspects of life. The excavation carried out jointly by the Deccan College, Poona and the State Department of Archaeology, Rajasthan at Bagor in Bhilwara district during the winter of 1968 was aimed at providing such evidence for a period of the stone age. The work at this site is expected to be continued in 1969. But the results obtained even from a preliminary study of the last season's finds throw much new light on the cultural history of western Mewar in the first millennium B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian era. And it is my hope that these results will be of some interest to the scholars gathered at this Congress.

The stone age site of Bagor lies close to the village on the left bank of the Kothari river, some 25 kilometres west of Bhilwara, as the crow flies. The inhabitants settled here on a large and prominent sand dune overlooking the river. They were primitive hunters and food-gatherers. The habitation deposit of 1.60 m. or more would suggest that this settlement persisted for a considerable time. These early Bagoreans are of special interest to the student of culture history by virtue of a late survival of their primitive technology and economy.

These early Bagoreans had a stone technology based on the production of slender blades from neatly prepared cores of quartz and chert. Many of the blades were used for cutting, scraping, etc. as they were produced. But some of them were converted into several types of microliths or specialised tools by a steep blunting of one or more sides. These microliths include straight blunted blades, obliquely blunted blades, triangles, mostly of the scalene variety, lunates, trapezes and points. In its perfection of shape and regularity of secondary work the microlithic industry of Bagor shows a very advanced stage, and in sheer richness of numbers it is unique in India. The obliquely blunted blades and triangles, if projected with their shorter side up, show both right and left edged forms. These were almost certainly hafted as barbs of arrowheads and harpoons, while the points were probably hafted as arrow tips. The function of lunates and trapezes was probably similar to that of triangles. The unretouched and blunted blades, on the other hand, were probably hafted as knives for cutting and preparation of meat and other household work. The microlithic industry of Bagor was geared essentially to a hunting way of life.

Toward the middle of the life of the settlement iron was introduced to these people. Its use was, however, restricted to arrowheads of which both socketed and tanged varieties occurred. No other implements or pots and pans of this metal are known. Iron, however, did not completely replace stone even for hunting tools. Microliths con-

tinued to be used for tools and weapons though on a diminished scale. In an upper level of the iron-bearing horizon occurred the lower half of a broken pot in which microliths had been stored. Nearby was another cache of microlithic cores and flakes kept under an upturned bowl. Iron was probably picked up occasionally from rural marks in the neighbourhood, but cultural conservatism, so characteristic of primitive societies, hampered the realization of full importance of the metal.

The early Bagoreans do not seem to have known the use of pottery in the beginning, but very soon this craft was introduced in their life. The earlier pottery is hand-made, of a coarse, gritty fabric, ill-baked and treated with a thick bright red slip. The vessels consisted of broad, shallow dishes and basins and bowls of various sizes. These were decorated externally with incised linear designs, sometimes in association with applique bands. Wheel-made pottery made its appearance along with iron. It is light and of brick red or dull-brown colour and rarely bears a slip and never any decoration. The shapes in it are flat-bottomed, open-mouthed bowls, tall, cylindrical vases and dishes and bowls with externally projecting rims. Pottery was, however, now being used on a larger scale than before.

The food economy of these people was based almost exclusively on hunting, at least during the earlier phase of their existence. Large quantities of animal bones occurred all through the settlement but they were particularly profuse in the lower and middle levels. A preliminary study of the animal remains by Dr. (Mrs.) D. R. Shah of Baroda University shows that the fauna exploited by early Bagoreans was all wild. It included bovines, the hog deer, the spotted deer, the *barasingha*, the Indian wild boar, the Indian jackal, the common Indian rat, the river turtle and the monitor lizard. Many of the bones were broken or split open for the extraction of marrow, and were often charred as a result of roasting of meat. At several floors charred bones occurred in concentration—clearly the *in situ* remnants of meals consumed around a fire. Large hammerstones made of natural pebbles and with clear bruising marks were evidently used for breaking and splitting open the bones. Toward the end of the settlement animal bones became fewer. Perhaps at this stage some limited agriculture and stock-raising had come into existence. A few rubbers of quartz and gneiss and small saddle querns of schist might suggest limited preparation of vegetable foods.

In the lower most 30 centimetre deposit there is no evidence of structural activity. But over this depth we find several successive floors made of pebbles and undressed stones laid in a compact manner. The full outlines of these floors could not be determined owing to limited excavation. The superstructures probably consisted of huts or wind-breaks made of perishable materials of which no traces have survived. In

the later levels which yielded iron and wheel-made pottery, we find floors and walls made of brickbats and bigger walls made of large dressed stone slabs, indicating greater economic stability.

The dead, at least during the earlier phase of settlement, were buried within the settlement on the living floor itself. The dead body was laid in an extended fashion with head toward the north-west. No burial goods were provided with the dead.

Pieces of red and yellow haematite occurred at all levels of the settlement. These were evidently meant for producing pigment, probably for bodily decoration. Other possessions of these stone age people were few and far between. The earlier phase with handmade pottery yielded two stone beads—one of agate and the other of carnelian, while the latter phase yielded stone as well as glass beads.

Thus two phases of microlithic culture can be distinguished at Bagor: an earlier one characterized by a profuse microlithic industry, a limited use of handmade pottery, a predominantly or exclusively hunting economy, stone-paved floors, burial within the settlement, and occasional use of stone beads, and a later phase marked by a decline in the use of microliths, limited use of iron for hunting weapons, profuse wheel-made pottery, fewer animal bones, signifying a reduced role for hunting in the economy (due presumably to limited agriculture and stock-raising coming into practice), brick and dressed stone structures and use of stone and glass beads.

The question naturally arises how old is this microlithic culture. We have sent several bone samples for radio-carbon analysis and the results of these are awaited. Meanwhile we have to depend on the limited archaeological evidence that we have for the site.

The wheel-made pottery of the later phase, especially the flat-bottomed, open-mouthed bowl is characteristic of the Kushan levels at early historic sites. The presence of iron arrowheads and glass beads could take back the antiquity of the middle levels to Ca. 500 B.C. at the earliest for there is no evidence at present for iron and glass having been known in the vicinity of Bagor before this date. Thus we can assign the upper iron-bearing horizon to Ca. 1st-2nd cent. A.D.—500 B.C., and the lower pre-iron and hand-made pottery horizon to Ca. 500-1000 B.C. Greater precision can be brought into this chronology only with the availability of radio-carbon dates and further finds of more closely datable objects. What, however, is clear even from the present limited dating evidence is the generally late survival of the microlithic culture as a whole and its continuation into the iron age times.

This phenomenon is puzzling in the context of the known archaeology of the region. We know that a village culture based on farming and stock-raising economy had appeared in southern Mewar at the beginning

of the second millennium B.C. This culture, named Ahar culture after the site of Ahar near Udaipur, had spread over the whole of the Berach basin as also in parts of the Banas, Kothari and other valleys in the districts of Udaipur, Chitorgarh, Bhilwara, Ajmer and Tonk (MISRA 1967 : 149). Aharians, unlike other chalcolithic peoples, did not use microliths, apparently because they had a more assured supply of metal. How could hunting communities survive in an area where farming economy had already long been established ? The answer has to be sought in the geographical environment of the region.

A look at the map of Ahar culture will show that this culture has a distinct southerly distribution. Most of the sites are located along the Berach and Banas valleys which carry some flowing water throughout the year. No site of this culture has, however, been found, despite planned exploration, in the upper reaches of the Kothari and Khari rivers. These rivers have shallow, sandy beds and carry little flowing water except during the monsoon. Lying at the foot of the Aravalli hills, the land here is more rocky and unsuitable for agriculture. Large tracts are covered with Khejri (*Prosopis spicigera*) and Palas (*Butea frondosa*) trees and bushes of wild berries.

Incessant grazing and wood cutting have largely destroyed the original vegetation cover and upset the ecological balance of the region, but three millennia ago when it had not yet been opened for agriculture the area must have been even better wooded and sheltered considerable wild life. An idea of the rich fauna of the earlier times is given by the animal remains from the excavation. Thus the western Mewar, while marginal to the agricultural zones of the south and east, was ideally suited to the hunter-food-gatherers' way of life. Numerous microlithic sites found all over Mewar show that such hunting and food-gathering communities were widespread in Mewar at one time (Misra 1967). With the expansion of agriculture and consequent loss of forest cover and wild life, such groups must have moved towards the foothills country of the west and there continued their traditional way of life for several centuries more until the expansion of agricultural economy accelerated by iron technology engulfed them in its fold.

Bagor thus is a good example of the differential culture development that has been so characteristic of Indian history. It also shows that generalisation based on limited evidence can be deceptive since unexpected evidence may lie buried in the neighbourhood. Nothing but intensive field research can produce the true picture of past life. The existence of primitive Kanjar and Shanshi communities by the side of mining centres in the vicinity of Bagor perhaps offers a modern-parallel to the prehistoric situation.

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THE SARASVATI VALLEY AND THE BRAHMAVARTA CULTURES

RAMCHANDRA JAIN

The Sarasvati river stands the most eminent in the *Rigveda*, the first and the oldest written record of the Brahmaryans. The region watered by the Sarasvati valley system was the richest, the wealthiest, the most civilised and the most cultured part of the whole of Bharatadesha.

Sarasvati, rising from the (Himalayan) mountains, pure in her course through out, joined the sea.¹ Sarasvati was the best river to the Rigvedic-ians.² Sarasvati was Mahamava.³ The flowing Sarasvati represented the sight of a great flood or a big sea. Sarasvati swelled with rivers.⁴ Sârasvati was a big river, with strong waves, at its inception. in the ridges of the hills. Sarasvati discovered the other rivers, its tributaries. Sarasvati with limitless unbroken vast waters, moving swiftly with a rapid rush, moved forward, on her golden path, with tempestuous roar. She, originating from the three different sources, was seven sistered (Sarasvati had six tributaries, herself being the seventh) and swifter than the other rapid streams (rivers⁵). Sarasvati, loudly roaring, strongly flowing, with fair streams, swelling with the volume of their waters, was the mother of the ocean.⁶ Sarasvati, the mightiest, was the president of all the rivers.⁷

The region watered by the great Sarasvati system was the choicest parcel of the land. The region possessed exhaustless riches, springs of pleasures, wealth and treasures. All the choicest things were grown here. She was the giver of the most glorious fame.⁸

The Purus, in the fullness of their strength, dwelt on the two grassy banks of the river Sarasvati.⁹ The five tribes (the *Panchajatah*) prospered in the Sarasvati valley region.¹⁰ The *Panchajatah* were the Purus, the Yadus, the Turvasas, the Anus and the Druhyus, also otherwise known as the *Punchajatah*.¹¹ They were the pre-Aryan original peoples of the land. The Purus inhabited the northern part of the Sarasvati region. The Anus and the Druhyus had their strongholds in the middle of the Sarasvati region. The Yadus and the Turvasas occupied the southern and the south-western parts of the Sarasvati region occupying north-west Rajasthan and Sindh territories extending upto the mouth of the Sarasvati close to the sea-shore.¹²

Surveys connected with the geology and archaeology corroborate this description of the *Rigveda*. The Sarasvati river originated from the Himalayan mountains. She, in Vedic times flowed to the sea through the Eastern Punjab (modern Haryana State) and Rajasthan.¹³ Sarasvati, flowing by Sirsa and Hanumangarh, was joined by another great river Drishadvati, about three miles north of Suratgarh. This river Drishadvati, originating in the Himalayan mountains and flowing by Thanesar, Hissar Bhadra, Nohar and Rawatsar joined the Sarasvati river. Sarasvati was

joined by another river from the north-eastern direction now known as Naiwala and identified as an old bed of the Sutlej (Shutudri).¹⁴ Kalibangan stands as the eastern most outpost of this great culture. The recent archaeological excavations at Kalibangan have yielded a citadel.

The geological identification of the Naiwala channel as an old bed of the Sutlej raises an important problem. Vishwamitra, the non-Aryan Dasyu-chief and commander-in-chief of the Bharatiya *Dasaragna* military organisation, later converted to the Brahmaryan fold and rising to the eminence of a Rigvedic *rishi* informs us that the Apaya river flowed in the region where the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati flowed.¹⁵ He, the great authority, being an original inhabitant of the land, also informs us that the rivers Vipas and Shutudri (modern Beas and Sutlej) flowed together.¹⁷ Both originated in the mountains and Vipas joined Shutudri, and then this ancient Shutudri, already swelled by the waters of Vipas, joined the Sarasvati river near Hanumangarh in the Ganganagar district. *Rishi* Vishwamitra calls this joint stream of Vipas and Shutudri Apaya, the bringer of waters, to the great Sarasvati river. Apaya is a river,¹⁹ an eminent one, fit to be mentioned in the most ancient Rigvedic hymn along with the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati. The ancient dry bed of Sutlej may alone claim to represent the course of this swelling river. We may, hence, rightly identify Apaya with the joint stream of Vipas and Shutudri.

Archaeology has fortunately been successful in unearthing pre-Aryan culture and civilization of Bharata. The Indus Valley culture, as represented by Mohenjodaro and Harappa, so far, represented the pre-Aryan Bharatiya culture and civilization. The archaeological excavations at Kalibangan, in the Ganganagar district of the Rajasthan State, have won for it a status of being the third provincial capital of ancient India, along with Mohanjodaro and Harappa. The original pre-Harappan culture of Kalibangan gives her definitely a far more superior status to Mohanjodaro and Harappa. We may now rename the Indus Valley civilization as the Sarasvati Valley civilization. The Sarasvati Valley culture was the representative original Bharatiya culture before the foreign Brahmaryan military conquest of Bharata. This Bharatiya culture and civilization has been termed as "metaphysical" by Mortimer Wheeler¹⁹ and "some religion" by Stuart Piggot.²⁰ G. C. Pande names it as "Muni Shramana"²¹ and R. N. Dandekar as "pre-Vedic non-Aryan religious culture of the *Munis* and the *Yaris*"²² We may rightly rename this pre-Aryan non-Aryan Bharatiya culture as the Shramana culture founded on the right inner-effortivity of the Spirit of man, the union of spirit and matter, wherein Spirit directs Matter. The Sarasvati Valley culture in the pre-Aryan age was Shramanic in content and character. The economic, social and political institutions of this region were founded on this shramanic culture.²³ Shramanism was the pre-Aryan non-Aryan way of life of the Sarasvati valley (and for that matter the Bharatiya) peoples

The *Rigveda* rightly acclaim the great Sarasvati river, swelled by the vast waters of the Vipas, the Shutudri and the Drishadvati as the mightiest and the richest. The region bounded by the great Sarasvati and the Drisadvati rivers was the choicest gem of the land. The foreign conquerors hence, and rightly too, chose this region for their permanent settlement. They densely populated this region with their own kinsmen. The Brahmarayan Devas finally carved (created) out a sweet home for themselves. The great Sarasvati river was their natural defence line in the west and Drishadvati in the east. They renamed this region lying between the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati as Brahmavartadesha.²⁴ They did not occupy the whole extensive area of their military conquest. They did not go beyond Anupgarh, the western outpost of Surâtgarh in Ganganagar district. As already seen, this Brahmavarta region exactly falls within the modern Haryana State, excluding the area west to the Sarasvati river, and the Ganganagar district of the Rajasthan State. The Purus, occupied the northern region, probably extending upto Sirsa, including or not including it. The rest of the region to the south of the Puru republic was the home of the illustrious Anu and the Druhyu republics. The Sarasvati region, south of Anupgarh, was the seat of the Yadu and the Turvasa republics. This Brahmavarta region was founded just after the final military conquest of the foreign Brahmarayan invaders in the *Dasaragna* war C. 1100 B. C.²⁵ Brahmavarta, hence forward, became the famous seat of the Brahmarayan culture and civilization.

The *Rigveda*, redacted C. 1000 B.C. with its Tenth *Mandala* appended to it C. 800 B.C., throws ample light on the Brahmavarta culture. The Aryans, in their hoary past, had developed the art of morphomothematising the elements of nature. The morphomothematised Varuna, Dyaus, Agni, Indra and other elements of nature.²⁶ The Brahmarayans had inherited this art from their forefathers the Iranaryans and the Asiaryans. They morphomothematised the Sarasvati river also and made her a *Devi*, a leader of the Brahmarayan ruling hierarchy.

Sarasvati is a *Devi* along with Bharata, Ila and Mahi.²⁷ She won a place of eminence amongst the other Brahmarayan *Devas* and *Devis* such as Daksha, Mitra, Aditi, Aryaman, Varuna, Soma and the Ashwins.²⁸ She also appears along with Sinivali, Gungu, Raka, Indrani and Varunani²⁹ She along with other *Devis* and *Devas* sat on the collectivistic grass and brought weal and happiness to her followers.

Sarasvati, raised to a high status of Deviship, became soon associated with the foundational Brahmarayan institution of *Yajna*. *Yajna* has wrongly been translated in the English language as "Sacrifice". Sacrifice is always of the "self" and not of the "other". In the Brahmarayan *Yajna* it was the "other" who was violently forced to suffer. *Yajna* to the ancient Aryans, was simply a tribal collectivistic activity which the word "Collectivity" may rightly signify. This collectivity maintained its basic

character even after its ritualisation. The shining Sarasvati, wealthy in spoils (of war), enriched with eulogies desires *Yajna*. Sarasvati, the inciter of all pleasant songs and the inspirer of all gracious thoughts, accepts the Brahmaryan *Yajna*. Agni, the carrier of *Yajna* became identified with Sarasvati.³⁰ Sarasvati is solicited to visit *Yajna* and hear the effectual speech and eulogies of the Brahmaryans.³¹ Sarasvati, the auspicious lady, is eulogised, with reverence, and on their knees, to be pleased at the *Yajna* and bestow wealth. It was Vashishtha, the great commander-in-chief of the Brahmaryan military power and victor of the *Dasharagna* war, alongwith Sudas and Indra, unbarred the doors of the *Rita* for the blessed Sarasvati for food and preservation.³² This was the conversion of the Shramanic Sarasvati to the collectivistic order which means that she was subjugated for collectivistic violence and plunder. The Brahmaryan leaders Vashishtha and Jamadagni lauded Sarasvati for good luck and riches.³³ The collectivists call Sarasvati, they adore Sarasvati when the *Yajna* proceeds. Sarasvati comes to the performance of *Yajna* and gives to the collectivists vast food and abundant riches.³⁴ We, thus, find that the Sarasvati valley region now becomes the homeland of the Brahmaryan *Yajnas* for wealth, riches and other material gains.

Sarasvati, after the founding of the Brahmavarta, became the citadel of the new inhabitants for protection, defence and expansion. The conquered Sarasvati, now, protected the Brahmaryans and conquered their adversaries, her own erstwhile peoples. While Indra, exulting in his prowess, did to death the daring chieftain of the Shandikas, (Sarasvati helped him in his expedition), as Indra and Agni had then become the Sarasvati's associates.³⁵ Sarasvati had then become the base of the Brahmaryans. Sarasvati; rich in wealth, furtherer of thoughts with might, protectress, strong in power, guardian and the guide; had been offered friendship and obedience for material opulence. The Brahmavartakas, wearied of semi-barbarous nomadism, prayed Sarasvati for favour of providing them permanent settlement in her region. They did not like to go to distant countries from the Sarasvati Valley region.³⁶

Sarasvati did not give only wealth to her new settlers but gave them noble-offspring also.³⁷ The ocean-like swelling waters of the Sarasvati river irrigated the region of Brahmavarta and the abundant food was produced.³⁸ Sarasvati, alongwith riches, gave full life (of a hundred years)³⁹ Sarasvati refreshed Indra (and his associates too).⁴⁰

We, thus, find that the Brahmaryan settlers in their new Brahmavarta home, established their gross materialistic culture and civilization. Firstly, they exploited the wealthiest Sarasvati region for their material prosperity. Riches, wealth, cattle, progeny and physical pleasures were, as before, the Brahmaryan be-all and end all of life and the Sarasvati valley provided them these objects in abundance. Secondly, they, violently established their

'collectivistic' (*yajnic*) social order. Thirdly, they propagated their materialistic way of 'morphotheism', 'Chhandopathy' and 'Havism' based on magic. Brahmavarta was now the cherished home of the Brahmarians about C. 800 B. C.

Sarasvati was, in that ancient age, considered to be the Virapatni.⁴¹ Sarasvan or Sarasvat was more usually considered to be the consort of Sarasvati.⁴² Sarasvan was the delighter with rain in season.⁴³ Sarasvan, of wide waves, the distributor of waters, is eulogised for wives, protection, food and progeny.⁴⁴ The north-western parts of the Himalayas were known to the Brahmarians. They could not think of an independent Devi without a Deva. Sarasvan, hence, the originator of the rivers of the Sarasvati system, was created to provide her a pairer and Himalaya alone could discharge that function.

The *Atharvaveda*, the *Shukla* and the *Krishna Yajurvedas* and the *Samaveda*, like the Tenth *Manḍala* of the *Rigveda* were redacted C. 800 B. C.⁴⁵ The *Atharvaveda* is the Veda of spell, charm and magic. It uses the concept Sarasvati about thirtyeight times. The river Sarasvati continues to enjoy the status of a 'morphotheised' *Devi* along with the other Brahmarian *Devas* and the *Devis* in the *Atharvaveda*.⁴⁶ She continues to be actively associated with *Yajna* mostly in the ritualised form.⁴⁷ Sarasvati is a victim of 'Chhandopathy' also and has to descend on call as the other elements of nature were believed to have done.⁴⁸ Sarasvati, like Indra, Agni, Dyaus and Prithvi, could be called through magic for destructive⁴⁹ (black magic) and constructive (white magic) purposes.⁵⁰ The Sarasvati river as an element of nature, like Varuna and Indra, also finds a place of honour in this Veda.⁵¹ Sarasvati, as in the *Rigveda*, also discharges the functions of a guardian, a protectress, a giver of wealth, riches, cattle and progeny and all the material objects of pleasure.⁵² Sarasvati, in this Veda, apart from discharging the *Rigvedic* functions, also discharges the magical functions.

Shukla Yajurveda uses the concept Sarasvati about one hundred and five times. The *Yajurveda* is the Veda of the *Yajna* ritualisation. *Yajna* is the foundation and source of all material prosperity. Sarasvati is the giver of food, wealth, riches, cattle, fame, glory and all sorts of material enjoyments.⁵³ She continues to enjoy the company of the Brahmarian *Devas* and *Devis* for material prosperity.⁵⁴ Sarasvati significantly becomes associated with *Vak*.⁵⁵ Sarasvati, still, is a mighty river swelling with ocean-like waters. The five rivers (Sindhu, Iravati, Parushni, Vipas & Shutudri, the last two earlier and the first three later), flowing, speed onwards to Sarasvati and then Sarasvati became a fivefold river in the land.⁵⁶ Sarasvati, the most eminent river of the land, raised to Devihood, continues to be the source of the material prosperity through the ritualised 'collectivities' for the Brahmarians. Her 'psycholisation' into *Vak* is a fur-

ther significant development. Sarasvati is now identified with the wisdom of the land and the age.

The *Krishna Yajurveda* also deals with the science of *Yajna* ritualisation. The object, as before, is material prosperity. This Veda uses the concept Sarasvati thirty-five times. Sarasvati continues to be a celebrated Devi, alongwith other Devas and Devis. She is hailed in the *Yajnic* ritual performances for food, cattle, riches, wealths, protection, progeny, expansion and other material gains.⁵⁷ This Veda also identifies Sarasvati with Vak. She now discharges the function of the bestower of speech also.⁵⁸ Sarasvati, the Virapatni, is the establisher of *Yajna*.⁵⁹ The Sarasvati region attained great eminence for the ritualised *Yajnas* in this ancient age. Sarasvati showed the Brahmaryan ritualists the way for gaining the world of heaven. This is the path that goes to the Devas; verily they mount upon it. They go calling aloud. They conquer the yonder world.⁶⁰ The reciters of the *Mantras*, so far, gained only the material happiness of this world. They were now developed to win the boundless material happiness of the *Swarga* also. Material happiness alone, in this or in the yonder world, is the purpose of the *Yajna* ('collectivity'), natural or ritualised.

The *Brahmanas* deal with science of the *Yajna* rituality. They give the minutest details of the ritual performances which only the experts, rightly or wrongly, should be expected to master. The *Aitareya* and the *Kaushitaki* are the oldest *Brahmanas* followed by the *Panchavimsha*. The *Satapatha* is the youngest. They took their final shape in the seventh century B.C. The identification of Sarasvati with Vak in the *Aitareya* and *Kaushitaki*, becomes more pronounced now as Vak is the main weapon of ritualities.⁶¹ Sarasvati was the centre of the big ritualistic performances.⁶² She has now become very intimately related with the ritualities for material prosperity.⁶³

Sarasvati, in the *Panchavimsha*, continues to be associated with the ritualities for material gains.⁶⁴ Sarasvati is Vak.⁶⁵ This *Brahmana* gives us a very significant historical and geographical information. The Drishadvati river is mentioned only in the *Rigveda* amongst the Vedas and only in this *Brahmana* amongst the older *Brahmanas*. Drishadvati flew in the eastern direction to Sarasvati and joined it. The big ritualities were performed in the Sarasvati region and also on the junction of these two rivers, three miles north to Suratgarh in Ganganagar district of Rajasthan State. The ritualists used to cross further to the south or south-west of this junction.⁶⁶ The ritualistic sessions were also held on the Drishadvati localities.⁶⁷ Sarasvati, in this *Brahmana*, as is also mentioned as disappearing in the sands of the desert at a place which has been called Vinashaṇa.⁶⁸ This place has been identified with some locality in the Patiala district of Punjab.⁶⁹ This view is apparently unfounded. Patiala was never a sandy desert. If Sarasvati was lost in Patiala, Drishadvati could not

have joined it but this *Brahmana* specifically mentions that Drishadvati joined Sarasvati and the ritualists went beyond this junction too. Vinashana has to be located somewhere in the eastern parts of Bliawalpur district of Pakistan beyond Anupgarh of Ganganagar district. This *Brahmana* highly acclaims the ritualistic sessions on the banks of the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati and that could not be possible in the waning state of Sarasvati. Sarasvati, hence, was as important a river in the age of this *Brahmana* as in the *Rigvedic* age though its importance had begun to decrease a little. The Brahmaryans had ruthlessly begun to cut down and burn the forests for their massive *Purushamedhas* and *Ashvamedhas*. They most violently desiccated the Ganganagar region though, in spite of this mass destruction, the region remained well-wooded at the time of Alexander and the Mauryan empire.⁷⁰

Shatapatha Brahmana gives us a mine of historical information on the subject. The rulers of Brahmavarta sensed the beginning of the deterioration of the Sarasvati valley region criminally wrought by themselves, and sought for new pastures. They had by this time known the material prosperity of the eastern Bharata and they began to adventure for the colonisation of the eastern Bharata. Mathava, the Videha, took from the banks of Sarasvati the institution of the ritualised 'collactivity' for the first time, in the east as far as river Sadanira, the boundary of the Koshalas and the Videhas. The Brahmaryan ritualists⁷¹ settled to the east of Sadanira in the Videhan Country.⁷² This happened in the age of Janaka who was converted to Brahmanism by Yajvalkyā. Janaka flourished in the seventh century B. C.⁷³ Sarasvati continued to enjoy the status of a Devi along with other Brahma Devas and Devis in ritualities.⁷⁴ Sarasvati further develops her status as Vak.⁷⁵ Sarasvati is Vak. and *Yaina* also is Vak.⁷⁶ Sarasvan or Sarasvat was her husband in the Vedas as the Vedicians could not think of a female without pairing with a male. They several times mention the pairing of a Deva with Sarasvati. Now Sarasvati has been identified with Mind⁷⁷ and Mind is the husband of speech. The process of 'psycholisation' of the elements of nature further develops. Indra is mind and Sarasvati speech. Sarasvati is tongue.⁷⁸ It appears probable that the Brahmavarta *Yajnic* cult travelled to Videha in the seventh century B.C.

Only one *Upanishada*, the *Brahadaranyaka*, uses the concept Sarasvati and that also only once. Sarasvati, the Devi, gives the mother's breast which is unfailling and refreshing, wealthy, abundant, with which all worthy beings are nourished, to the newborn baby.⁷⁹ Sarasvati here also is associated with material happiness only.

We may, after this discussion, fairly presume that the *Brahmana* culture and civilization blossomed in the most celebrated Brahmavartadesha and specially in its southern part. The Purus had their republic in the upper Sarasvati region and they coalesced with the Trutsus and had formed

the hybrid Kuru tribe. They did constantly remain in struggles with their eastern neighbours and specially the *Ahithala Janapada*. The middle Sarasvati region, the Ganganagar district of Rajasthan, was the most prosperous area of Brahmvarta and comparatively peaceful, free from big military engagements. It was best suited for cultural efflorescence. All the four Vedas and the principal older *Brahmanas* the *Aitareya* the *Kaushitaki* the *Taittiriya*, the *Panchvimsha* and the *Satapatha* were probably redacted here. The *Brahmanas* had penetrated the eastern Bharata but had not yet by the middle of the first millenium B. C. gained political supremacy there. They were trying to Brahmanise the region but were still only struggling for it. Their great stronghold, in this age, was still the Brahmvartadesha and the foundational Brahmanical culture and civilization of tribalistic ritual 'collectivism' was their way of life and source of inspiration. All their followers were enjoined upon to learn the Brahmanical science as shaped in the Brahmvartadesha for their several usages.⁸⁰ Brahmvarta culture was the holiest and the choicest for the *Brahmanas* till C. 600-500 B. C.

The culture and civilization of the pre-Aryan Sarasvati Valley was founded on 'Shramanism', the science of spiritualism based on the right inner effortivity of Man, the union of spirit and matter. The man was free and equal. The economic, social and political institutions were developed upon this basic foundation. The foreign Brahmaryan culture was founded on Brahmanism, the science of collectivistic tribal materialism where man was not a free and equal individual but an inseparable part of the tribal social machine. Their way of life naturally was collectivistic (*Yajnic*) and on this foundation were created the Brahmaryan economic, social and political institutions.⁸¹ This foreign materialistic culture and civilization annihilated the original Bharatiya spiritual culture and civilization. The *Brahmana* materialistic culture today also stands annihilated in the region of its origin, the Brahmvartadesha. Both lie buried in the mounds existing side by side in the ancient Brahmvarta. Archaeology has identified more than fifty such sites where the pre-Aryan and the Aryan mounds are separately situated, the one not supplanting the other.⁸² This is a unique phase of the Bharatiya history. The spiritualism of Sarasvati Valley culture and the materialism of the Brahmvarta culture are no force today. A neo-spiritual culture has to originate from the bosom of this ancient and the modern Sarasvati Valley region, the Ganganagar district of Rajasthan.

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SOME PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM RAIRH— A STUDY IN SYMBOLS.

B. M. S. PARMAR

Excavations at Rairh yielded five hoards of 3,075 silver punch-marked coins in the year 1939-40. 450 coins of them are the matter of study in this note. These coins are of 32 *Ratti* standard weight and bear five symbols on obverse. On the basis of symbols punched on these coins they can be divided into three types which are given here as under:—

1. Sun, Shadara-Chakra, crescented hill, peacock perched on hill, the so-called steelyard.
2. Three human figurines, peacock on hill, steelyard.
3. Three arrowheads above an elliptical shaped mark, six arched hill, puppy or hare on a pole in railing, peacock on hill and "Steelyard".

While examining these coins, a point struck to my mind that what was the purpose of punching marks on this type of coins? Cunningham in his book entitled *Coins of Ancient India* maintained that these symbols represent Buddhism.¹ Durga Prasad saw in them the *Tantric influence*.² Some scholars have tried to maintain that the symbols on the punch-marked are the remnants of the Indus script.³ But in accepting this view there comes a gap of about seven and eight centuries during which we do not find any antiquity having its marks to fill up this time gap, though there is clear cut similarity amongst many symbols on the punch-marked coins and the Indus script engraved on the seals and pots heads found from various sites of the Indus culture.

Next comes Allan who did not notice any significance in the symbols on the punch-marked coins. It is very difficult to believe that the symbols were punched on these coins without any purpose. A para in *Vishudhimagga* though of a little later date, tells us that a 'moneychanger would be in a position to know at the first sight which of them were struck at which village, town or capital, mountain and river bank'.⁴ Therefore in the light of the above-mentioned para, the five symbols of these three types of coins are being studied. Coins of the first type have sun, Shadarachakra, crescented-hill, peacock on hill and the so called steelyard. Some scholars have taken the Sun symbol as the mark of sovereignty. Its presence in all the coins with exceptions to few varieties suggests that the punch-marked coins represent a single series and were issued in an unbroken continuation. The second symbol which is called 'six armed symbol (Shadarchakra) has been taken as representing king while Dr. P. L. Gupta interprets its presence in almost all the (with few exceptions) coins as superficial than real. The third symbol of crescented-hill has been generally accepted as the royal insignia of the Mauryan rulers. The fourth symbol which is found in all the coins of three types

of this note—which is peacock on hill. This mark is representing a hilly locality where peacocks are found in large numbers. If this view is accepted it can be said that this locality was Alwar-Jaipur Bharatpur. This is further corroborated by the fifth symbol to which Allan has given the name 'Steelyard' while not accepting it as a symbol but a word *Barath* consisting of three Brahmi characters of 3rd-2nd century B.C. Scholars may object on this point and can ask why the symbol and inscription has been executed together? But on 2nd C. B.C. republican coins we find the symbols and legends in Brahmi characters together. If this interpretation of the fifth mark is accepted as a word 'Barath' made of three Brahmi Characters, then it can be said that Bairath was a very important rather a Minting town during Mauryan and late mauryan times.

On the coins of 2nd type we mark that first three symbols are replaced by three human figurines and on the coins of 3rd type by three arrowheads on an elliptical shaped marks with two stands, six arched hill and a puppy or hare on a pole in railing. The fourth and the fifth marks on these two type coins are the same as in the 1st type. Probably this replacement of first three marks on the 2nd and the third type coins suggests a transitional phase, regarding which we are well aware that after Ashoka, disintegration of the Mauryan empire started and in the eastern Punjab, North Western U.P. (Dehradun-Saharanpur) and North—eastern Rajasthan are a warrior tribe named Yaudheyas arose in prominence. Probably, this was the race for which these later type coins were issued either by some Mauryan emperor by the tribe itself. The mention of the word DVI and TRI on the coins of this as tribe suggested Dr. V. S. Agrawala in one of his articles, that this tribe was divided into three sections, which are probably represented by three human figurines in the 2nd type and three arrowheads over an elliptical shaped mark in the third type coins of this note.

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EARLY HISTORY OF MATSYA DESHA

VIJAYAKUMAR

Matsya Desha occupies an important place in the cultural history of Rajasthan. The earliest mention of Matsya people is found in the *Rigveda* where the Matsyas are mentioned as opponents of Sudas. It is stated in the *Satapatha Brahmana* that this tribe lived on the bank of river Sarasvati and the name of one of the rulers of this tribe Duaitavana is mentioned in one of the inventories of the performers of *Ashvamedha Yajna* (horse sacrifice) (XIII. 5.4.9). According to Manu's code, Matsya was a part of Brahmarshidēsha (II.19 VIII. 193). Frequent references of Matsya Desha have been made in the great Indian epic the *Mahabharata*. It

is mentioned there that while wandering in the forests, the Pandavas resorted to this part of country (*Adi Parva*, 155-2). The inhabitants of this part of country had migrated to the north on account of the fear of Jarasandha (*Sabha Parva*, 14-28). During the conquest of east, Bhima conquered this country (*Sabha Parva*, 30 8). Sahadeva did the same during his southern conquest (*Sabha Parva*, 31 4). It was one of the places selected by Arjuna for spending non-cognizable period of his exile (*Virata Parva*, 12-13). Virata was the king of Matsya Desha at the time of *Mahabharata* (*Virata Parva*, 1-17). Virata the king of Matsya Desha came with his formidable *akshauhini*² army to the help of Yudhishtira (*Udyog Parva*, 19-12). It was at the residence of Virata that the Pandavas spent the period of their exile incognito (*Virata Parva* 7th Chapter). This part of the country was considered as one of the most important *Janapadas* of India (*Bhishma Parva*, 9-40). Some soldiers of Matsya Desha were killed by Bhishma (*Bhishma Parva*, 42-49). Drona had killed 500 heroes belonging to Matsya Desha simultaneously (*Drona Parva*, 190-191). It is said that Karna also conquered a part of this country (*Karna Parva* 8-18). The inhabitants of this part of the country were spiritually advanced and were considered as great upholders of truth (*Karna Parva*, 45/28-30). Ashvatthama killed the remaining heroes of Matsya Desha (*Sauptik Parva*, 8/158-159).

It was from the Epic period that the area around the districts of Bharatpur, Alwar and Jaipur became to be known as Matsya Desha with Bairat as its capital. Other important text books of Sanskrit and Pali literatures make occasional references of Matsya Desha at several places. One of the most famous exponents of the art of dancing in the twelfth century of the Christian era Harihar Sharma, in his famous treatise on the subject styled *Natta—Maukh* has stated that one of the most renowned practitioners of the *Katthak* style of dancing Mihir flourished in the Matsya Desha in the 2nd century B.C. It was from this period that the ladies were so much fascinated with this style of dancing that they took pride in participating in it. The glowing tributes which Harihar Sharma has showered to the memory of Mihir for his extraordinary calibre in the exposition of this unique art do not only exhibit the extraordinary genius with which the learned professor was blessed but they also go a long way in proving an established fact that the fine arts were in a sufficiently developed state in the domain of Matsya Desha. It is expressly mentioned in the "*Natta Maukh*" that Mihir so beautifully blended the techniques of his bodily postures with vocal and instrumental musics that not only human beings gifted with sense and understanding but even mutes like snakes were instantly thrilled with extreme joy on witnessing this unique type of performance and in order to express their sense of appreciation not only shook their heads and coiled themselves but also constantly rolled on the ground floor. It is said that the beautiful panorama of *Katthak* style of dance which Mihir so nicely presented before his audience kept them spell

bound and suitable words are lacking in the present day lexicon to exactly describe his marvellous feats of performance. It will only suffice to say that the fascinating scene so beautifully and artistically presented was 'joviality' personified. Indeed, this style of dancing has bestowed additional lustre to the glory of Ooluk Pradesha, Matsya Desha and Gajarat Desha in the realm of the patronage of fine arts.³ Interesting account of this part of country is given in the annals of the famous Chinese traveller Huen Tsang. According to him the kingdom of Po-li-ye-to-lo which has been identified as Bairat was situated at a distance of 500 *li* or 83 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles towards the west of Mathura. This place was at a distance of 800 *li* or 133 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Sutej. According to this description of Huen Tsang Po-li-ye-to-lo is definitely Bairat. The net result of the account given by Heun Tsang is that in the 7th century A.D. this place reached the highest pinnacle of art and culture. It was also a great centre of Buddhist civilization. The people of this place were courageous. This place was famous for trade in sheep, oxen, flowers and fruits. Bairat was inhabited in a circular shape covering an area of 3000 *li* or 500 miles.⁴

Besides literary testimonies and the account of an eyewitness mentioned above, explorations and excavations carried here revealed new avenues in the direction of cultural history of this country. From pre-historic age Matsya Desha was the centre of human activities. A factory for the manufacture of palaeoliths has been found at Bhangarh. At Dhigaria near Bairat palaeoliths have been discovered. A skeleton of pre-historic period has been discovered in the area of Bairat which also contained microliths. The discovery of painted rock-shelters in Bandh Baretha area of Bharatpur district has given place entirely to a new vista in the history of paintings in Matsya Desha.⁵ These rock-shelters have given clue to at least half a dozen paintings in which Sun, human-figures, lion, stag etc., have been depicted. These paintings are the specimens of folk-art and have been designed with ochre.

Excavation operations were also undertaken twice at Bairat, the capital of Matsya Desha. At the first instance it was carried under the supervision of D. R. Sahani according to the archaic ways and means then available. For the second time it was carried under the supervision of N. R. Banarjee according to most up-to date methods. Both the excavations have thrown considerable light on the civilisation prevalent here in Aryan⁶ and Mauryan periods. These excavations go to prove that Bairat was an important centre of iron industry. Side by side it is also understood that the inhabitants of Bairat were the sponsors of a material culture of a very high order. They used fine quality of clothes and were also familiar with other means of material welfare. Many punch-marked,

Greek and Indo-Greek coins have also been discovered here. Parmar opines that Bairat was a minting town in Mauryan period⁷. Besides being the patrons of high class material culture, they were also fully aware of spiritual values. The excavations here have brought to light, the remains of a monastery and a circular temple of the time of Asoka. The circular temple which is the oldest structural place of worship that probably furnished models for the numerous rockcut cave temples of Western and Eastern India.

Recently excavation operations were carried at Noh (district Bharatpur) which is situated on the borders of Matsya Desha, according to the most modern methods in vogue. At first R. C. Agrawal was the director of this work but the later operations fell to the lot of the author. These excavations not only throw ample light on the Aryan civilization but they also connect the missing links between the Indus Valley and Aryan civilizations. The most important feature of Noh excavation is the discovery of O. C. P. This kind of pottery has also been discovered in the Indo-Gangetic valley. It is the representative of that culture which flourished in the period intervening the Indus Valley and Aryan cultures. It is a matter of dispute as to who were the actual users of this kind of pottery.

However, at Noh there are no positive evidences to support the view held by some archaeologists that Harappan refugees were the exponents of this culture. Authorities are also of the opinion that the O. C. P. people belonged to an indigenous community living in the Doab, who were both nomadic and pastoral. Those who endorse this view should consider the claim of Abhiras as the users of O. C. P. The Mahabharata⁸ and other literary texts speak of Abhiras as inhabiting in these regions. Like O. C. P. people Abhiras were nomadic and pastoral⁹. I hope that the learned scholars assembled in this august congregation would favour us with their considered views in respect on the basis of this hypothesis.

The discovery of the Black and Red pottery at Noh has created many a problem in respect of early history of Matsya Desha which can be fully solved after a further extensive work at Noh. It throws a considerable light in respect of a culture of different groups preceding the Aryan culture.

The representative of Aryan culture viz., Painted Grey Ware has also been discovered at many other places in India but a kind of painted Grey Ware, which has been discovered during Noh excavations is quite unique in all respects as no material of this kind was discovered at any other part of the country prior to this.

Subsequently N. B. P. pottery, which symbolises Buddhist Culture, has been discovered at Noh. It is found in ample quantity at Bairat but

a sprinkler which has been discovered at Noh is quite unique in the whole range of N.B.P. Ware.

The most important structure unearthed at Noh is a 50 cm. long, 43 cm. wide and 20 cm. deep *kurda* of Shunga—Kushan period which was most probably a place for offering oblations. Its religious use is further confirmed by a bone seal in Brahmi characters which gives a reading "पाप हृत्स". The seal was discovered in the same layer in which *Havan kund* is cut. These finds explain the revival of Vedic sacrificial practices in Rajasthan during this period. This fact is further confirmed by the discovery of several Yupa pillars from Barnala and Vijaygarh of ancient Matsya region.

The inhabitants of Noh were familiar with the use of iron since the time of the Aryans.

In this way the excavations at Noh have been instrumental in producing new historical data in respect of the ancient history of Matsya Desha which till now were unknown.

Sufficient light has been thrown on the ancient civilization and culture of Matsya Desha by the hoard of coins discovered at *Nagla Ihaila*. On the basis of this hoard some such coins have also been discovered which were quite unknown prior to this discovery. Ashokan inscriptions discovered at Bairat are tangible proofs of the fact that this tract of land occupied a very important place in the Mauryan period. Besides this, innumerable sculptures and monuments are scattered hither and thither in the area of ancient Matsya Desha. They are undoubtedly very important emblems of the early art of this region. Quite a few sculptures may be witnessed in the museums of Ajmer, Amber and Bharatpur.

On the basis of above mentioned facts we can easily depict a very handsome picture of the glory that was once Matsya Desha.

REFERENCES

1. This anecdote which has been lucidly chronicled in the annals of the great epic poem *Mahabharata* is even to-day on the lips of every citizen of the city which fact has been corroborated by A. C. L. Carlleyle in his extensive survey of the Eastern Rajasthan carried on about a century ago in the winter of 1871-72.
2. *Akshauhini* is an army consisting of ten *anikinis* or 21, 879 elephants, 21,870 Chariots, 65, 610 horse and 109, 350 foot. (Since an *anikini* consists of 27 *vahinis*, and 27 is the cube of 3, *akshauhini* may be a compound of 2 *aksha* and *vahini* or it may possibly be connected with a *aksha*, axle, cart).

3. Harihar Sharma : *Natt Maukha*

उह् दचिकत्त मचिकत्त लचिकत्त मिमंगत्त,
 उह् हुक्कित्त भुक्कित्त लुहित्त भुजंगित्त,
 किमि कंथक मिहिर उल्लल विग्गत्त,
 उलुक मत्स्य गजहत नत्त मसक्कत्त ।”

4. Julien's Hiouen Tshang, pp 206-207. See Map. No X.

5. Dr. Satya Prakash, Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur was mainly responsible for the discovery of these rock shelters in the year 1964-65. The author of this mini-monograph also happened to be a member of the exploration team

6. Period I at Bairat is characterised by Painted Grey Ware. It is now generally admitted that the P.G.W. was used by the Aryans.

7. B. M.S. Parmar, “A study of symbols on some Punch Marked coins from Rairh”, Rajasthan History Congress Proceeding 1968

8. गस्णनुत्सवसंकेतान्वय जयत्पुरुषर्षभः,
 सिन्धुकूलाश्रिता ये च ग्रामणोया महाबलाः,
 शूद्राभीरगस्णश्चैव ये चाश्रित सरस्वतीम,
 वर्त्तयान्त च ये मत्स्ये ये च पर्वतवासिनः ।

Mahabharata, Sabha Parva, B. O. R. I., Poona, 1943, XXIX, Shlok 8, P. 152.

“Matsya group of Abhiras may better be located near about the same areas upto Mathura, U.P.”

Bhagwansingh Suryavanshi, *The Abhiras, Their History and Culture*, Baroda, 1962, p.2. This is note worthy that Noh is quite close to above mentioned region.

9. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious sects*.

RECENT GURJARA PRATIHARA ARCHITECTURAL FINDS FROM JAIPUR AND NAGOUR DISTRICTS

DR. SATYA PRAKASH

Scholars in Rajasthan are aware of the fact that the greatest monarch of the Gurjara Pratiharas was Mihirabhoja and that the family of Nagabhatta came into prominence towards the end of the 10th century A. D. But it does not mean that Gurjara Pratiharas did not play any significant part in Rajasthan prior to the mediaeval period. The art and architectural study in certain administrative zones of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh has now made us feel with confidence that the 8th and 9th centuries besides the 10th century, had also seen a great cultural renaissance at the hands of the Gurjara-Pratiharas in their vast Kingdom, which embraced not only the territory of Gujarat and Rajasthan but also the region of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab nearly up to Bihar, abutting upon the territory of the Palas in the east and clashing with that of the Rashtra

Kutas in the Madhya-Pradesh. This accounts for a great similarity in some of the architectural pieces found in the districts of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Nagaur etc.

The recent discoveries made by the author of this paper, as a result of explorations, have brought to light an unknown temple known as *Naker Ma'a* temple from the village Bhawanipura, some 14 miles off from Jaipur city, a little removed from the main road on the Jaipur-Ajmer National Highway. This temple is a typical example of Gurjara-Pratihara style and is dedicated to the goddess, just like the temple at Abaneri, commonly known as the Harshat Mata temple.

In Nagaur district at Chhoti Khatu, the author of this paper brought to public notice a step-well (*baori*), quite different from the one found at Abaneri, with sculptures, *Shikharas* etc., fixed to the walls on either side of the two door-steps after the entrance.

All these pieces of art are in Gurjara-Pratihara style. Similar sculptures were found fixed to the walls both inside and outside a small room of the *matha*, occupied by a *Sadhu*, in the town. All these sculptures were reported to have been brought there, as a result of excavations, from a mound, on which, at present, a temple stands. The sculptures belong to the 8th and 9th century A. D.

All the above material is important from the point of view of art and is definitely representative of the Gurjara-Pratihara style.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON EARLY ART OF RAJASTHAN

R. C. AGRAWALA

Archaeological excavations and explorations in Rajasthan have thrown a flood of light on foreign traits in early historic art of Rajasthan. It is now proposed to present here a brief resume of some of the important foreign art devices in this region during the first four centuries of the Christian era.

The present study is based on the objects excavated at various sites of Rajasthan, most important being Rangamahā-Munda, Badopal, and Pir Sultan-ki-Theri in Bikaner, Bhinmal in Jodhpur, Sambhar, Bairat, Nagar and Rairh in Jaipur, Ahar and Nagari in Udaipur region, Noh in Bharatpur etc.

1. Excavations at Rangamahā yielded a number of pottery specimens bearing affinities with Sirkap at Taxila. Sprinklers reported from this site have also been found at Sambhar. These were the imitations of the Roman pottery. Besides this, typical *Red Polished Ware*, datable to the early centuries of the Christian era and imitated from the Romans, has been reported from Bhinmal, Nagari and Rangamahā. The distribution of these pieces was quite wide-spread throughout India, due to trade contacts

with the western world; it had its focus centre in western India including Rajasthan and Gujarat.

2. Clay Votive Tanks have been found at Ahar, Rairh, Noh, Ranganmahal etc., in Rajasthan and also on a number of Kushana sites in Northern India. These model shrines suggest Parthian or Indo-Parthian analogues, a fact which is confirmed by stratified remains from the Scytho-Parthian city at Sirkap (Taxila) as well. Inside a rectangular enclosure of such tanks may be seen a few handmade figures of great Mother Goddess; her worship was wide-spread in Gandhara due to impacts of the Hellenized Parthians. The motif subsequently became popular in North India; and Rajasthan was no exception to it. The depiction of drummers inside such miniature clay tanks also strengthens the Parthian association; this particular motif was specially popular at Seleucia during the sway of the Parthians.

3. The discovery of a number of early-Gupta terracotta plaques from Suratgarh-Hanumangarh region of Bikaner are really a landmark in the realm of early Indian Art. Most of them are now exhibited in the G. G. J. Museum at Bikaner. These exquisite reliefs present a happy blending of the Kushana art devices from Mathura and a few from Gandhara art. The checkered design, acanthus leaf and honey-suckle motif are non-Indian devices as also available in the terracottas from Devanimori and Mirpur Khas. The baked-clay torso (headless statue) of a lady from Pir Sultan Ki Theri and measuring about 3 feet 3 inches in height, depicts a long skirt touching the feet and upper scarf covering her breasts. The forked folds of the drapery have been shown under the impact of Gandhara art, as also in case of nether garment (a *lahanga*) for Parvati in Uma-Maheshvara plaque and milk-maid (*gopi*) in *Dana-Lila* relief from Ranganmahal nearby. The latter specimen recalls to our minds a somewhat similar skirt for a Greek lady on a stone panel from Pital-Khora in the Deccan. The facial features and the drapery in the Pital-Khora sculptures suggest a Yavana couple; in fact we are well aware of a number of inscriptions in Western Indian caves referring to donations by the Yavanas. Patanjali has also alluded to the invasions of Madhayamika (near Chittor) by the Greeks. A number of Indo-Greek coins were excavated at Bairat also a few decades ago. The lady putting on a half-sleeves bodice with an ornamental buckle or breast plate and an *odhani*, from Badopal near Suratgarh, suggest Gandharan influence. This type of *Odhani* is still in vogue in some part of Rajasthan and the neighbouring region of Haryana. The matted locks on a terracotta Siva head from Munda bear close affinity with *ushnisha* on some of the Buddha heads from Gandhara region. Moustaches on the face of Krishna in Govardhanadhara relief from Ranganmahal and *kaolin* Vishnu from Pilibangan, near Kalibangan further corroborate the truth of this statement. In fact such an early statue of Krishna depicting the lifting of Govardhana mountain has not been

head, with Siva suggested by Mr. D.R. Sahni a few years ago. It is also not plausible to look for the theme of 'the Ganges coming out of the matted locks of Siva' in this particular handle from Sambhar, near Jaipur. The Nagar vase probably presents a Parthian head on the neck of the vase, while the handle does not bear any figure. This particular device may well be noticed on a number of Greek vases now preserved in the British Museum at London, and datable to 500 B. C. On some of them, the handles do not bear any human figurine as in the Nagar handle discussed above. It was in imitation of the above Greek device that the pottery vases, from Begram (Afghanistan) and Ujjain (M.P., India) appear to have been shaped in perfectly an Indian style.

(2) Decoration of the curved handle with a human figure appears to have been imitated from the Italian pots, both in metal and clay. A few such ceramic specimens in Italian Buchhero Ware (600 B.C.) have been preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston; on some of them we find both the handles having female figures. It may also be remembered that on most of the pottery handles from India, including Rajasthan, the standing lady is shown in *anjali* pose (with both hands folded) as also in the Begram vase referred to above. In the former, even the nudity aspect is very prominently shown, probably with a view to suggest her association with Lakshmi or the goddess of Fertility and Fecundity. These specimens, datable between 2nd to 4th century A.D., may well be identified with a special type of vessel i. e; *Siri-kamsaga* referred to in the *Angavijja* which is a valuable Prakrit treatise of the contemporary period. This text also refers to तिमिसिका which is Greek goddess Artemis. All these pots appear to have been used for ritualistic purposes. In fact archaeological relics from Rajasthan have got an import bearing in this direction.

The vestiges of foreign impact may well be located in a Rajasthanian proverb which runs as *Nagada nano vimda paranije kano* i. e; with the help of *nana* (money), even one-eyed man can well be married. Here *nana* recalls to our minds the Kushana Gold coins which bore the inscription *Nana* on them; they depicted the Elamite goddess (Indian Ambika) on them. These coins appear to have been in frequent use in ancient Rajasthan and that is why the local proverbs has preserved the ancient coin denomination even till today. These particular coins have been referred as *Nanaka* in contemporary Indian literature; in the *Mrichhakatika* we find a specific reference to the testing of these coins by an officer called *Nanaka-Parikshi*. Later on *Nanaka* came to denote any coin, whether of gold or silver. A passing reference may also be made to an obscure textile term *Sirka* in the *Kharoshthi* documents from Chinese Turkestan in Central Asia and datable to the first four centuries of the Christian era. It

may well be interpreted in the light of Rajasthani word *Siraka* used for a quilt (रजाई). It has its derivation from *Sitarakshaka* > *Sitarakkhaka* > *Sitarakkha-a* > *Si-a-rakha* > *Siraka* i. e; which protects from cold, and that suits the context. The scrutiny of Rajasthani words may also help us in having some idea of ancient traits of this important region. In fact Rajasthan has to play a great role in the realm of ancient Indian art and culture as well.

INSCRIPTION FROM MOUNT HARSHA IN SIKAR DISTRICT A STUDY IN PLACE-NAMES

DHANNA LAL SHARMA

The importance of the inscription from Mount Harsha in Sikar district in the history of ancient India is its valuable information about the place-names of the region. The territorial divisions, towns and villages have their share of attention in the shape of linguistic material dealt with in this inscription region. A survey of the original place-names in the Shekhawati region, a tract of Rajasthan, deserves to be undertaken with a view to evaluate the material properly and also to trace its antiquity. Analytical study of the inscription gives underlying meanings which relate to place-names.

The extent of the empire of the Chauhans may be spotted by a few important points in all directions on the map from out of the names available in the inscription alone. The boundaries and the exact location of the places, according to the inscription, establish and stretch the kingdom of the Chauhans over this tract. It also represents that the correct designation of place-names in the inscription is based on those found in Sanskrit literature.

A class of geographical name is also represented in the inscription as the region of population i.e; *Vishaya* (खंडकूप विषये verse 48) e.g., the territory occupied by a certain kind of community esteemed as "*Bagri*" (बागड़ी). The names according the *Vishaya*, are based on the ethnic distribution of population over particular area for the time being and connote a reference to the nature of that area. The area occupied by them the *Vishaya*, have undergone in course of time various forms of political evolutions, which enumerate the basis of linguistic principles underlying their formations.

The most important term used in the inscription is *Vishaya* (विषय) (district). Broadly speaking it comprised both urban and rural areas and was at once a geographical, political and cultural unit. The culture of

the *Vishaya* preserved its integrity through vicissitudes of time and to a great extent stood like a rock against the too abrupt changes and the impact of Shekhawat Rajputs influences. The life in the *Vishaya* continued to flourish and may be looked upon as one of the richest sources, where vestiges of an ancient traditions and institutions may be fruitfully studied.

As per the inscription the unit of settlements of population consisted of big cities and villages. That one may be acquainted with a large number of cities and villages, is made clear by the inscription on the basis of the place-names enumerated in the verse 25, 31 and 48. Some of them were fortified cities, others were trading centres and emporiums for distribution of merchandise, some others were capital cities of the *Vishaya* i.e. districts. That during this period of the inscription, this territory possessed a considerable number of flourishing centres of population in the form of cities and villages, may also be attested by the testimony of personal observations, legends and ancient couplets. One may be fascinated to know that this tract of Shekhawati, was full of towns, centres of industries and economic prosperity. Many of these figured as centres of defence such as 'कोह विपदे' (Verse 48) surrounded its three sides by natural Bhimli hills.

Harsha :—The city Harsha, called *Anant* (अनन्त) also, has in it even now ruins of a beautiful little shrine and foundations of unpretentious dwellings. The old walls that once surrounded the city can still be traced in parts. It is built of fair-sized dry masonry. If we believe the local legend, Harsha was not a village but a splendid city stretched in an area of thirty six miles. There is an old couplet which is interesting and informative :—

“जगमालपुरा हर्षा नगरी, जीमें हाठ हजार,
मटै गूढड़ी, बर्मै तालाब बडी छतरी”

If we are asked to translate the above expression, it accurately reveals that Jugmalpura is small village, Harsha was a Nagar i.e. a city highly populated. Between Jugmalpura and Harsh, there were thousand of shops and emporiums and weekly fairs were held. There was a big pond in the heart of the city along with a big mausoleum. Today Jugmalpur stands in its vicinity. One may not take the above couplet at its face value but the fact cannot be denied that the old glory of the place can still be visualised by one who gazes at its surroundings and the temple from the mountain peak.

Koha Vishaya :—The word *Koha Vishaya* is referred to in verse 48 of the inscription which speaks of an ancient, wealthy, famous and beautiful town, named *Koha* after its natural development. Phonetically it is connected with the *cave* (गुफा) which is the corruption of the word *Kuhar* (कुहर).

It is identified as Ragnathgarh which is the natural stronghold near the village Chhapoli in Jhunjhunu district and is situated about thirteen miles east of Sikar, Rajasthan. The inhabitants of Ragnathgarh at a personal interview disclosed that its ancient name was *Koha* and it might have been a district at that time according to the inscription.

Khang koopa Vishaya :—It is mentioned in the inscription in verse 48 a district. Literally, the word "*Khang koopa*" implies two meanings, (1) a place of iron-ore and (2) a field of sword. There is still an identification spot where iron-ore was dug out. Today it is known as Khandela (खंडेला) which is an old city. The ruins are quite visible half a mile from the present town in the north-east direction. It is situated ten miles away from Ragnathgarh in the south-east corner and about 24 miles from the old Harsa in the east. The relative geographical position also determines its identification.

Chhatara Dhara :—This is an important village of the inscription (Verse 25). W.B. Webb supposes it a river, which emerged from Bhimli ranges near Ragnathgarh and it fell into Rewasa lake but Webb's supposition is wrong because Chhatra Dhara was a village, a territory of Sinha-Raja (verse 18 to 25) presented with a suitable deed of gift to the diety called Harsha Deo. The village yielding largest amount of revenue was this village and its description occurs in the inscription. There arises no ground to consider it a river. It may be identified with Chhapoli (छापौली) another name of छत्रधारा in Jhunjhunu district. It is four miles away from Udaipur-Shekhawati in the west.

Shankaranaka :—It is mentioned in the inscription (verse 25) as the best village of Singha Raja, donated to Shri Harsha Devo. It may be identified with *Shakaraya* (शकराय). This interpretation find supports in the second inscription from Shakaraya of V. S. 1055 of the month of *Magh*, the second half of the month on the fifth day. It is situated in the middle of hills, some six miles away from Udaipur—Shekhawati in the south of Sikar.

Ranapallika :—It is a place-name situated very close to Harshanath and may be identified with present Ranoli (रणौली). According to a dedication stone one Brahmin priest, Proshasta by name, disciple of Tollatta, was a resident of a village Ranapallika (verse 29to31). After a long interval its accentuation was irregular which made the inhabitants habitual to have a initial accent likewise (रणौली). It is situated in the south—east corner of Sikar.

Sinha Praustha :—It was the name of a village which we knew from the inscription (verse 48). Probably it was founded by and named after Sinha Raja, the Chauhan King. It lies to the east of Sikar. Now-a-days it is rightly identified with Sinhasan (सिंहासन) the corrupted name for Sinha Praushtha.

Kardamkhat :—The mention of Kardamkhat in the inscription (verse 48) is significant, for Kardamkhat is identified with the modern Kansali (कांसली) which at one time stood in the west, six miles off from Harsha. At the time of personal interview with its inhabitants it was revealed that it was called *Kasaiwara* i.e. butcher's market in ancient days. Literally the word (कद्दमखात) means a "ditch or place of sins." It refers to the root of the word Kashaiwara. In due course of time it has been called Kansli which is a corruption of (कसाईवाड़ा) Kashaiwara.

Pippalwalika :—Mentioned in verse 48 is the same as has been identified with modern Piprali (पिपराली) in Sikar district four miles away from Ragunathgarh in the west.

Kanhapallika :—It was included in Koha district (verse 48) and appears to be Panhalawa in Sikar district, known as the original place of a Pindari (पिंडारी); Pannalal by name who often looted this area. Pindari is a corruption of Sanskrit word *Pindar* which means Gujar a community among the Hindus. Now-a-days the villages Panhalawa is a locality of the Gujars. It may be identified with Panhalawa (पन्हालावा) to a Kanhapallika (कण्हिपालिका). The roots of both the words Kanha कण्ह and Panha पण्ह are the same.

Layana :—It is a famous village (verse 48) situated south of Harsha village. It was founded by the king, Lavan who fought with Sinha Raja (verse 18) and was slain together with his neighbour king. It is identified with modern Rewasa (रैवासा). There was a lake at Rewasa in ancient times where salt manufacture was resorted to. The signs of the lake are easily sought even now. Many people even at Rewasa are skilled in this art. Literally it gives the meaning salt or *Lavana*. Probably this name came into existence as Rewasa when people of Ragunathgarh reached this region.

Koli Koopa :—It was a village (verse 48) identified with modern Kolida (कोलीड़ा). There lived a tribe of weavers in it. Literally it means a place of weavers. There are so many homes of weavers at present also that it supports its identification as an ancient place. It is Kolida and its root lies in the word Koli Koopa. It may be a corruption of Koli Koopa.

Kataka :—It is referred in verse 48 in the inscription. It is identified with Katarathal (कटराथल) situated some six mile off from Sikar. It was a trading centre. There were emporiums of mercandise here. Its prosperity shows that it was the home of the rich people. The Sanskrit word Kutaka कूटक implies a meaning 'wealth'. Its identification as a centre of the business lies in the couplet translated above. The root of the word कूटक covers the word (Katrathal).

Patok-dway and Pallika:—It may be the same as Patoda (पाटोदा) and Palri (पालड़ी) respectively in Sikar District situated on its northern side.

Prativinsa and Apaharshak:—According to the existing inhabitants of the modern Parsrampura (परशरामपुरा) and Palasara (पलासरा) these are ancient names. These two villages were given to Harsh-Devo by Shri Govinda Raj, the grand son of Sinha Raja according to the inscription.

The village Urusare (verse 48) is included in Koha district (कोह विषये) which may be identified with Udasar in Jhunjhunu district.

Ekaloka and Krashanukupa are also place-names but exact location is still shrouded in mystery.

The above is a list of some of the towns and villages compiled on the basis of the inscription from Mount Harsha. It is interesting to have chain of place-names from the inscription. These help us in furnishing a trustworthy list of additional names of towns and villages which when interpreted with the forgoing, would make the picture of Sikar's place-names fairly interesting.

THREE SHORT NOTES ON EARLY RAJPUT HISTORY

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

1. Durlabharaja of the Jodhpur (now National Museum, New Delhi) Plates. V. 1069 (V. 1067)

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has published these plates in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, part III, 1965. I edited them independently for the *Muni Jinavijaya Commemoration Volume* while I was at Delhi and sent the related paper with photos of the plates to the Managing Editor, Mr. Jawaharlal Jain of Jaipur, who, I have to say with some regret, has not only done nothing material to publish the Volume but not been even good enough to return the paper and photos of the plates, in spite of repeated requests.

The plates mention Durlabharaja as the overlord of a *tantrapala* named Ksemaraja who granted the village Ksatriyapadra in the Bhillamala mandala to one Nannuka, a resident of Bhillamala. Dr. Chhabra raises the question of the identity of Durlabharaja and feels like identifying him with the Chahamana ruler, Durlabharaja II of Sakambhari, though "the possibility of his being identical with the ruler of that name belonging to the Chaulukyas of Anahilapataka is not precluded." I for my part would put it just the other way; for there is nothing to prove that Durlabharaja Chahamana's dominions ever included Bhillamala. There is uncertainty also about his having been on the throne in V. 1069. He was a fairly influential person in V. 1030 during the reign of his elder brother, Vigharaja II (See the Haras inscription of the year). He was ruling in V. 1053 and V. 1056 (Bijapur and Kimsariya inscriptions). The extension of his reign beyond the latter date is extremely doubtful.

As for Durlabharaja Chaulukya, we know that, in all probability he was on the throne of Anahilapataka in V. 1069; he had ascended it barely two years earlier. *Satyapura-pathaka* is known from the Balera grant (E.I.X, pp. 76-9) to have been within the dominions of his grandfather, Mularaja I. If some 18 years later, Bhillamala-mandala too (within which the *Satyapura-pathaka* was generally included) is found within Chaulukya dominions, it is nothing improbable. Bhillamala adjoins Satyapura. It is fairly distant from Sakambhari, then the capital of the Chauhans. The best proof, however, of its being a Chaulukya record lies in its wording. One has to compare it with Mularaja I's grant of V. 1043, which like our record begins with the words, *Rajahamsa iya vimalobhayapakasah* to be sure that ours is a record of the Chaulukya dynasty.

2. Simharaja of the Jodhpur (now National Museum, New Delhi) Plates of V. 1054.

The grant of V. 1069 discussed above was made to the Brahmana Nannuka of Bhillamala. This grant of V. 1054 has also the same donee. The former grant was made by a *tantrapala* of Bhillamala-mandala; this one is by a Chief of Satyapura named Siharajasi or Simharajasimha. Dr. B. Chh. Chhabra, the editor of the plate, identifies him with Simharaja of the Haras inscription. This is impossible. The last known date of Simharaja is V. 1013 (Thamvala and Haras inscriptions). In V. 1030 his son, Vigharaja II, was on the throne; and in V. 1054, Sakambhari was being ruled by Vigharaja II's younger brother and successor, Durlabharaja II. Simharaja of this plate might have been a Chaulukya feudatory ruling over a *pathaka*.

3. Foundation of Ajmer

To the best of my information there are no remains in Ajmer to prove that it was founded in the seventh century of the Vikrama Era.

It is no use quoting from secondary sources. History does not believe in the adage वावावाक्यं प्रमाणम्. As to positive evidence of the question, one would do well to consult the *Prthvirajavijaya*, a work written during the reign of Prthviraja III in c. 1192 A.D. One has just to read its verses 119-192 and the Commentary on verse 118, with the words, अत्राजय राजस्य नगरनिर्माणो-प्रस्तुते¹ and (अजयरा)जोनगरकृतवान² to be absolutely sure on the point. The description ends with the verse.

एवं विद्यामजयमेरुपुर प्रतिष्ठां
कृत्वा सकीतुक इवाजयराजदेवः ।
दोर्वीर्यसंहतनयं तनयं विधाय
सिंहासने त्रिदिवमीक्षि तुमु च्चचाल ॥

which states that having thus founded the city of Ajaya—meru and set his son on the throne Ajayaraja passed away.

I never thought that anyone who had this verse and the commentary quoted above before his eyes would need any further evidence on the point.

REFERENCES

1. It would, however, be fair to point out that we can see clearly only the letters,
अत्राज
2. The letters read clearly are,
'जो नगरं कृतवान् येषु काव्येषु तन्नगरं न वर्णितं
तानि काव्यानि धन्यानि न भवन्ति
After these introductory words follows a full description of Ajmer in 65 verses.

COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KELHANA OF NADOL (V.S. 1238)

DR RAMCHANDRA RAI

The inscription, under reference, noticed at Nadol in Pali district is incised on two copper plates of 5 x 3.2 sq. inches and contains twenty three lines (eleven and twelve lines respectively), the letters being of 0.15 inch and dates back to V.S. 1238, 8th day of the bright half of *Vaisakh*, Saturday.

The language is Sanskrit and the script is Devanagari. Orthographically a vertical line on the left of an alphabet denotes the *matra* of e (क for के). Two vertical lines on both the sides of an alphabet are used to denote the *matra* of 0 as (क्का for कौ). For the *matra* of *au* a slanting line rising to the left upwards from the vertex of the alphabet is added to the form of *matra* for 0 (as लो for लौ).

Inscription under reference, begins with the salutations to King Kelhana who was an extraordinarily strong ruler in his family. He defeated one Sujojali. His predecessors were Jendaraj and Alhana. He (Kelhana) had a son Jayat Sinha who was enjoying the *Bhukti* of Seempati village (modern Sewadi in Bali tehsil of Pali district.) The idol of Lord Parsvanath was coronated on the festival day of Kalyanika. On such occasion four businessmen of Seempati village presented a gift of eight *dramma* per head in hard cash and a *sas.in* or royal grant for five only and solemnly promised to pay the same amount every year. Those who did not fulfil the commitment, would surrender all their moral values.

The scribe is Pandit Vidyadharana, son of Pandit Silana.

The inscription, under reference, states that Kelhana ruled at Nadol from 1163 to 1193 A. D. (vide *History of Chahamans*, Varanasi 64 p. 259-260). He was the mightiest of all the rulers in his family. His predecessor Jendaraj ruled from 1070 to 1080 A. D. and his father Alhana from 1146 to 1162 A. D. whose names appear in the third and the fifth line of the inscription under reference. He defeated Sujojali who may only be Vayajaldeo (vide *History of Chahamans* Varahasi 64 p. 256), who was appointed *dandanayak* by Kumarpal of Gujarat to look after the administration at Nadol. Vayajaldeo may be one of the important figures in the war (1150 A.D.) between Gujarat king Kumarpal and the combined forces of Kelhana and Arnoraj of Ajmer. The son of Kelhana was Jayat Sinha who was enjoying the *Bhukti* of Seempati village (Sewadi).

The inscription under reference, adds to one more epigraphical evidence for Kelhana and Jayat Sinha of Nadol. The defeat of Vayajaldeo by Kelhana is an important event.

The text reads as follows :

- १-ॐ॥ न्मस्तपादः समस्टेषु समकेषु महीभृतां द्विजा
- २-नां सिधः श्री मातृ पूजाः.....स्ताहो ॥१ श्री मात.....आसन
- ३-प्रोन्नत भूमपतिः कृषिं राजा श्री जैन्द राजप्रूत सूरस्य.....
- ४-:॥.....राजनृपष्टस्मादस्मादल्हण भूपतिः॥ श्री मत्कल्हण
- ५-देव.....भून्नृपः ॥ सु (यु) जाज्जली विजितं । शेष विशेषो
- ६-दृढ सद्दटः ॥ श्री मत्जयत सिंहोस्य पुत्रः.....सूर पुत्रः ॥४
- ७-सारं मनारामा लिख्यते.....कुमार पदस्थेन संवत १२३८
- ८-वर्षे वैशाख सुदि ८ शनां श्री मद्र द्र ति गच्छै प्रतिष्ठाय
- ९-श्री अनल (ड) पुरे श्री आनल.....श्री पाश्वनाथ देवाय.....
- १०-सीव कल्याणिक महोत्सवे प्रति वर्ष.....कु
- ११-मार पद भुज्यमान सीमपाटी ग्राम सत्त्वं दात्पुत्राः

(२)

- १२—.....कम यात वर्ष प्रति द्रम्माः८ अष्टो द्रम्मा आ
 १३—चंद्रार्क ५ शासनन प्रदत्ताः । अमी द्रम्मा सीमपाटी
 १४—य महाजनेन चंद्राण कम याहैवाय दातव्याः ।
 १५—तत शासनं देवस्वार्थे वरिणक.....सुत राल्ह आ
 १६—ल्ह (पा) सुत तील्हण दैशल सुत बडदेव सोढाः सुत
 १७—आल्हण.....राणका वांपा
 १८—पालनीयं ॥ति क्रान्ते यैत्यः को पि
 १९—भविष्यति । अहं तस्याकरै लग्ना न लोप्य ममशासनं
 २०—म राघवराज.....महामिकृते नेम आ
 २१—ष्टः स्वयं दत्ता अपहारिकः ।.....
 २२—नामिनः ।.....सप्यर्न प्रजायं तै दवदायं हरंतिये
 २३—लिखतमिदं पं० सीलण पुत्र पं० विद्याधारण

INSCRIPTIONS OF MANDALGARH

(Summary)

DURGALAL MATHUR

Mandalgarh is situated in the eastern part of Mewar. This stronghold remained under the Chauhans of Ajmer, Hadas of Bundi and Guhilots of Mewar. There are no earlier inscriptions available. It seems that during the reign of Kumbha, the place was invaded by the rulers of Malwa several times and according to the Persian chronicles, the temples were demolished. Therefore, earlier epigraphs might have been destroyed.

The important inscriptions available there, are as follows—

1. Gupteshwar temple inscriptions of V. S. 1559 and 1571 of the reign of Maharana Raimal and Sanga. The record gives an account of the constructions of the *Matha* there.

2. Jaleshwar temple inscriptions of V.S. 1617 and 1651 of the Solanki chief, subordinate to Maharana of Mewar. These records mention that temple was repaired during these years.

3. Jain temple of Rikhab Deva bears the inscription of V. S. 1718, wherein it is mentioned that architect Devaji constructed the temple.

4. Besides these, two *Surah Lekhs* are very important. They mention that during the reign of Maharana Bhim Singh, the place was under Mehta Agra, who was given an order by the Maharana not to slaughter the animals in the fort for *bali* or sacrifice before the *devi*. This shows that the Jain influence predominated there.

MARWAR AND THE SULTANS OF DELHI—A STUDY BASED ON EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

M. S. AHLUWALIA

The struggles between the Rathors of Marwar and the Sultans of Delhi, are recorded in Persian, Jain and Rajasthani sources, and corroborated by the available epigraphic evidence. It would, however, be wrong to suggest that no good-will existed between the two at any time during the period. Quite a large number of inscriptions found mostly at places like Manglana, Sadadi, Pandukha, Mandor and Ladnu etc., indicate that the north-eastern parts of Jodhpur were more friendly and loyal to the central authority. However, most of the south-western region appears to have remained almost unaffected by the Muslim influence, as evidenced by the absence of Arabic and Persian epigraphs and the presence of a large number of local rulers' inscriptions, most of which refer to the Delhi Sultans in hostile terms.

It may be true that some of the Rathor chiefs had settled in the Marwar region even before the traditional migration of Rao Sihaji and his lieutenants. But most of this region, at least upto the first decade of the thirteenth century, was in the possession of the Chauhan and other Rajput tribes.¹

By the close of the 12th century, Chauhana Kelhana, Jayat Sinha etc. held the territories of Pali and Nadol, as feudatories of the Chalukyas of Gujarat. It seems probable that Chauhanas held Nadol at least up to V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1231). The Chauhana chief Kelhana and his younger brother Kirtipala, fought against Muhammad Ghori along with their overlord Bhīma II, near Kaydran village in the modern Sirohi.²

Similarly, Jayat Sinha, the son and successor of Chauhana Kelhana, vacated his possessions of Pali and Nadol and joined hands with the Paramara Dharavarsha of Abu, against the Turkish forces under Sultan Qutub-ud-din Aibak³, but was defeated and probably slain in this battle.⁴ Again two inscriptions from Bamnera⁵ (Jodhpur) and one from Danderev⁶, belonging to the reign of Samanta Simha and dated V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202), testify to the Chauhana occupation of these territories.⁷

It is therefore, difficult to determine the exact places in Marwar over which Rao Sihaji held his sway. It was only under his successors that Rathors established themselves firmly in this region and carved out a compact and independent kingdom. In the light of the available epigraphs, it may be safely assumed that Sultan Iltutmish, whose accession to the throne of Delhi almost coincided with the foundation of the Rathor kingdom of the Marwar, might have taken the territories of Jalor, Nagor and Mandor⁸ etc., from the local Chauhana and the Parihara chiefs and not from the Rathor Rao Sihaji, who is said to have fought against his contemporary Sultans of Delhi up to the rule of Ghiasuddin Balban.

The earliest friendly epigraphic reference to the Sultans from Marwar is found at Manglana,⁹ which is dated V.S. 1272 (A.D. 1215) and refers to the reign of Chauhana chief Allahanadeva, son of Govinda,¹⁰ of the Ranthambhor line. It refers at the same time, to the victorious reign of 'Surtrana Lititmishi of Jognipura', obviously Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish of Delhi, who is referred to as the 'lord of the Ghor and Ghazna'. The object of the record is the construction of step-well (*baoli*) by one Jaitra Simha, a feudatory chief of Allahanadeva. Allahanadeva is recorded in the epigraph as the 'Gadhapatti' of the Ranthambhor fort.

The reign of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) was fateful not only for the Marwar principalities of Siwana, Jalor and Sanchor etc., but for many other powerful kingdoms in Rajasthan like Ranthambhor, Chitor, and Jaisalmer etc. Of these Siwana and Jalor were annexed in the years 1308 and 1311 respectively.¹¹

Siwana was then in the possession of the Paramara ruler Satal Deo and Jalor was held by Chauhana chief Kanahad Deo.¹² Jodhpur too, as is proved from the epigraphic evidence passed under the Khaljis.¹³

A slab in a well, at Pandukha¹⁴, about 4 miles east of Phalodi, in Jodhpur, and dated V.S. 1358 (A.D. 1302) begins with the names of several gods and goddesses and then refers to the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, who had established at Merta (in Nagor)¹⁵; probably his viceroy named Tajuddin Ali is also mentioned whose long Persian titles have been given in Sanskritised form.

After his accession, Alauddin Khalji seems to have appointed Tajuddin as his vicerey over the vicinity of Merta. The name of Alauddin's other vicerey, Ulugh Khan is also preserved in two epigraphs from Cambay and Jhalawar respectively.¹⁶

A long inscription in Sanskrit found at Ladnu¹⁷ and dated V.S. 1373 (A.D. 1316), is one of the most interesting and refers to the succession of Delhi Sultans in a typical Sanskrit style, the like of which has so far been found only in the Boar epigraph¹⁸. The inscription records the names of almost all the Sultans of Delhi up to Alauddin Khalji. The epigraph aptly glorifies the achievements of Sultan Alauddin and states that he was the first Sultan to conquer the Deccan. The extent of his empire as given in the record is fairly accurate. The epigraph further records the appointment of Sadharana, a Hindu, as Sultan's *Khazanchi*.¹⁹

The object of the record is the digging and consecration of a step-well at Ladnu, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *yojnas* (about 90 km.) to the east of Nagapattana i.e. Nagor, the capital of Sapadlaksha country, by Sadharana.²⁰ The epigraph consists of two *Prashastis*. The first records the construction of a step well during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, while the second

records that its consecration (*pratishtan*) rites were performed on the second date during the reign of 'Kutvadina', i.e. Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji, son of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, but was engraved when Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was the Sultan.²¹

The epigraph perhaps shows the acknowledgment of the overlordship of the Khalji Sultans by the Rathor chiefs, who might have held sway over the region around the findspot of the inscription. However, the Khalji annexation of the territories like Siwana, Sanchor, Jalor and Mandor etc., perhaps put a definite check on the expansionist activities of the Rathor rulers, who now held their sway up to Pachpadra (24 miles west of Siwana).²² The check upon eastward expansion of Rathors as a result of the Khalji power, probably accounts for their wars with the other Rajput neighbours, notably the Chauhans of Jalor²³ and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer.²⁴

Thus the Khalji annexation of most of the territories in Marwar, came as a severe blow to the newly established Rathor kingdom, especially when the Rathors had scarcely been able to carve out their independent kingdom in the Marwar.²⁵

Another inscription from Sadadi²⁶ records the defeat of Sultan Alauddin Khalji at the hands of Buhvan Simha and the capture of important forts like, Sarangpura, Nagapura, Ghagsa, Narnaula, Ajaimeru, Modosa, Mandargarha, Bundi, Khatu and Chatsu etc. by Guhila Kumbhakarna. But curiously enough, it also records the grant of a firman by the Sultan Muhammed Tughluq to a *Jainacharya* named Gunaraja (perhaps for his religious preachings and for holy pilgrimages to the various parts of Rajputana and elsewhere. Gunaraja, the leader of Jaina Sangha, is recorded as travelling with a firman from the Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, who has been praised in the epigraph as 'a person worthy to be the vassal of human life, able to cross the mundane ocean which was being filled with great acts of innumerable merits, such as good treatment of the (Jaina) community and various kinds of acts (of erection and opening of) alms-houses in hard times.'²⁷

This may perhaps indicate the religious tolerance of the Tughluq Sultans as well as the recognition of the Sultan's authority in the region at this time.

The Rathor rulers of Marwar, however, could only succeed in their expansionist designs during the period of weak successors of Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq and during the Sayyad Sultans. Rao Chunda (1394-1423) made various conquests of significance and annexed the territories of Mandor and Nagor.²⁸ Apart from this, the subjugation of the principalities like, Khatu, Didwana, Sambhar and Ajmer²⁹ etc. were surely at the cost of the Sultans of Delhi.

Thus it may be safely assumed that the scattered territories of the Marwar were annexed by the Rathors only during the period of Rao Chunda for the first time, and till then the Rathor activities were perhaps on a very limited scale. This expansionist policy continued under Chunda's successors like Ranmal (1428-1438). All the principalities annexed during this period more or less remained intact under the Rathor chief Rao Jodha and his successors, and there was hardly any interference from the Sultans.

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2. Sundha Inscription, *Epig. Ind.* IX p. 77.
3. *Tajul Masir*, Text p. 411.
4. Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 140.
5. Bhandarkar, *List Nos.* 444 and 447.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 446.
7. For further details see, Sharma, *op. cit.* pp. 138-40.
8. Iltutmish marched against Mandor in A. H. 624/1126-27 and captured it. Minhaj, *Tabkat-i-Nasiri*, Text p. 172 and Raverty, p. 611.
9. *Ind. Ant.* XVI, p. 86.
10. *Hammir Maha Kavya*, *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 62.
11. *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, tr. Habib, pp. 53-54; *Nainsi Khyat*, I, p. 159; *Tirtha Kalpa*, p. 138.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-143.
13. *Archaeological Survey Reports (Western Circle)*, 1910, p. 52 and Bhandarkar, *List.*, p. 92, No. 650.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 52 and 92.
15. Reu., *op. cit.*, p. 44, Fn. 4; *Banke Das Khyat*, p. 3.
16. Bhandarkar, *List of North Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 444 and 447.
17. *Epig. Ind.* XII, p. 23; See also *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, pp. 182-184.
18. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 43, i, p. 108, *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 186; *Journal of Indian History* 1936, pp. 181-82.
19. His name appears once again during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. *Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi*, p. 177.
20. Pt. Ram Karna, 'Ladnu Inscription of Sadharana.' *Epig. Ind.* XII, pp. 17-27.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-27.
22. *Ind. Ant.* XL, p. 301.
23. *Kanhad-de-Prabandha and Nainsi Khyat*.
24. Dyal Das Khyat, I, p. 91, Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Bannerji, *Journal of Indian History*, 1951, p. 317.
25. Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughals*, pp. 5-7.
26. Ojha, *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1920-21, p. 4.
27. *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, I, pp. 20-22, see also Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, p. 165.
28. *Nainsi Khyat*, II, p. 89, Dyal Das Khyat, I, p. 124, *Banke Das Khyat*, p. 6, and *Vir Vinod*, p. 803 etc.
29. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 31, and Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 63, Cf. Bhargava, *loc. cit.*

including Toda Raisingh conquered by Kumbha early in his reign, had fared no better.

And this Muslim expansion is evidenced not only by Muslim histories but also by the colophons of our Jaina manuscripts. Of these one from the Virdhi Chand Jain temple, Jaipur, shows that Sultan Alauddin, a grandson of Mahmud Khalji (known to history also as Shuja' at Khan) had been put in charge of the Nainwa—Tonk area as early as 1458 A. D.,⁴ or perhaps one or two years earlier even. So this area had been occupied by the Khaljis nearly sixteen years before Rayamalla's accession; *i. e.*, not long after the treaty of Champaner between the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa, which put Kumbha on the defensive. Alauddin is referred to also in two other manuscripts, one of V. 1528/1471 A. D., copied at Nainwa,⁵ and the other of V. 1524/1467 A. D. from Tonk.⁶ Both of these again, it should be noted, belong to the pre-Rayamalla regime. There can thus be no reason whatsoever to saddle Maharana Rayamalla with the loss of these territories.

But we, I fear, have been digressing a lot just to convince the reader that under the circumstances, as they were, it was easy for the enemy to march into Hadavati and Mewar, and if Ghiyas Shah's general, Zafar Khan, did so, it was nothing difficult, for he was marching through territory already under the control of his master. But when he reached Mandalgarh—which again it may be remembered was not exactly within Mewar but in the allied territory of Hadavati—he had to encounter the flower of Mewar chivalry.⁷ The Khalji army was defeated with great slaughter, and then pursued and defeated once again at Khairabad, a town 40 *krosa* from Bundi and 14 from Mhow.⁸

These two great victories safeguarded Mewar. We read of one more invasion in Rayamalla's reign, when Nasir Shah, the Sultan of Malwa, is said to have reached the heart of the 'country' and retired after receiving tribute from the Maharana and his *Zamindars*.⁹ But as this is the usual excuse given, when a Muslim invader retired discomfited, it would hardly be proper to conclude on its basis that the Maharana had actually been forced to submit. Any ordinary ruler would have been satisfied with this achievement.

Knowing fully the danger to which Mewar was exposed by its topography, Rayamalla remained busy with the task of building up his power, both by diplomacy and fighting. He brought the war with the Rathors to an end by marrying Srngaradevi, a daughter of Jodha, the Rathor Chief of Jodhpur. An inscription from Ghosundi, dated in V. 1561/1504 A. D., not only testifies to this fact but also indicates that

it had been a happy marriage. He kept his contact with Hadavati by giving refuge to Rava Bhana of Bundi and assigning to him the village of Bhilwara. The bond of friendship thus established continued during the succeeding generations. Nainsi tells us that it was Sanga's subordinate, Rava Narayanadas of Bundi, who defeated and captured Mahmud II of Malwa;¹⁰ and from the same source we learn that Narayanadasa's son, Surajmal, was a devoted follower of Sanga's son, Vikramaditya. To the Brahmachulukya chief Suryasena (Suratana), deprived of Raisingh Toda by the Khatjis, Rayamalla first assigned Pur in Mewar and then Badnor.¹¹ Later, when the Maharana's second son, Jayamal, died at the hands of Suryasena's brother-in-law, Ratnasimha, as a result of trying to have by force the Solanki chief's beautiful daughter, Tara, the Maharana not only excused the grievous wrong he had suffered, but permitted his eldest son to marry the girl and agree to Suryasena's condition that as his son-in-law, he would have to restore him to the chiefship of Raisingh Toda. Mewar *Khyats* tells us how Prthviraja duly carried out the promise. He captured the fort, slaying its governor, Lalla Pathan.¹² Mallu Khan, the governor of Ajmer, hurried to the help of Lalla. But Prthviraja defeated him too and captured the fort and city of Ajmer.¹³

Rayamalla tried also in other ways to strengthen central authority, though he proceeded more slowly than desired by his eldest son the hot headed but valiant Prthviraja. The Maharana's uncle Sarangadeva, a brother of Maharana Kumbha, had been given the rich *jagir* of Bhainsrorgarh. Another uncle's son, Surajmal, had made himself master of an extensive estate extending from Sadari to Girwa. These states within the state had to go, if the Maharana was to have the power needed to keep down turbulent nobles. With his connivance, therefore, Prthviraja attacked Bhainsrorgarh with an army of 2,000 *sawars*.¹⁴ Expelled from there, Sarangadeva joined Surajmal at Sadari. Prthviraja is said to have later on assassinated him (Sarangadeva); and though Surajmal's defeat proved a more formidable task, it too was ultimately accomplished by Prthviraja's persistence. Surajmal left Mewar and migrating to Kanthal founded a new kingdom, later known as Pratabgarh. Sarangadeva's son, Joga, was given the *jagir* of Batharda and thus reconciled to the new state of affairs.¹⁵ Next we find Prthviraja exerting himself in Godwar. Traditional accounts speak of his putting down the depredations of the Minas of Godwad and restoring law and order to the territory. A Narlai inscription shows that this dashing cavalier or 'flying Prthviraja,¹⁶ as people loved to call him, was actually there in V. 1557/1500 A. D., and a number of Jainas, whose names need not be recounted here, installed an image of Adinatha and repaired the *Devakulikas* of the temple built by the local Customs Department with the permission of the Prince.

Everything thus seemed to be going on well. But towards the end of the century, Rayamalla's life was embittered by the quarrels of his three sons, Prthviraja, Jagmal and Sanga. Prthviraja, who had the best right to the throne as the eldest son, must have been naturally incensed when he found Sanga laying claim to it, on the ground that an astrologer and a priestess had predicted that Sanga was destined to rule Mewar after Rayamalla. Under the circumstances some conflict among the brothers was inevitable; and very soon this conflict—their jealousy and mutual hostility—reached such a pitch that Sanga had to fly for his life from Mewar.¹⁷ He was lucky to have escaped with the loss of only one eye.

But for the bravery of a Rathor chief named Bida Jaitamalot who had come on pilgrimage to the Rupanarayana temple at Sevantri, Sanga would have died at the hands of his pursuers. Two memorial slabs in a *chhatri* of Bida, within the precincts of the temple, tell the curious visitor how Bida and Rathor Rayapala, with their followers, laid down their lives for Kanwar Sangramasimha on the 7th day of the bright half of Jyestha, Samvat 1561 (1504 A. D.).¹⁸ Rayamalla was so badly hurt by Prthviraja's unseemly conduct that he forbade his entry into his presence. Very much ashamed of what he had done the Prince betook himself to Kumbhalmer, from where only the urgent needs of Mewar brought him out now and then. Bardic Chronicles tell us how he went to Sirohi to punish the Maharawal Jagmal for the bad and discriminatory treatment of his Sisodia queen, Anandbai. He accomplished the task; but not long after he died of the poisoned *laddus* he had unsuspectingly accepted from the Maharawal.¹⁹

Thus Rayamalla appears to have led rather a lonely life towards the end of his reign. Presumption killed Jagmal. Prthviraja, a typical Rajput warrior, brave, unsuspecting and extremely touchy, by nature, died of poison. The fourth son Jayasimha, appointed heir-apparent in the absence of Sanga, whose whereabouts were unknown, proved unworthy of his charge. So the news that Sanga was alive and living with his father-in-law, Karam Chand Panwar of Srinagar near Ajmer, gave great satisfaction to the ailing Maharana. He sent for him and died some time after his return, on the 5th of the bright of Jyestha, V. 1566 (May 24, 1509 A. D.).

Like his father, Kumbha, Rayamalla was a man of sincerely religious disposition. He repaired the temple of Ekalingaji, damaged by the Muslims either in the reign of Kumbha or early in his own reign, when Ghiyasuddin attacked Chittor, and restored to it villages and land sequestered by Udayasimha. He had new reservoirs excavated; and acting like Kumarapala Chaulukya disallowed resumption of the property of people dying heirless,²⁰ even though such resumption was common practice with the rulers of the period. His sister, Ramabai, who had returned to Mewar after the conversion of her husband, Mandalika, to Islam, built the temple of Ramasvami at Jawar in V. 1554/1497 A. D.;

and his Rathor queen, Srngaradevi, had a step-well built at Ghosundi in V. 1561/1504 A. D.²¹ Among the donees whom Rayamalla favoured were also his *guru*, Gopalabhatta and the poet Mahesa, the author of the *Ekalinga prashasti*²²

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2. Mahmud Khalji captured Gagraun, 1443 A. D., put Saif-ud-din in charge of Ranthambhor, 1446 A. D., subdued Bayana, and Kota 1447 A. D., Jana in 1454 (Zafar-ul-waleh) and Bundi in 1458 A. D. Of these Ranthambhor perhaps passed into the hands of Man Singh Tomar of Gwalior and Solahdi before V. 1511/1454 A. D., as indicated by the Kandhar inscription of the year.
3. Ma'athir-i-Mahmud Shahi quoted in S. N. Day's Medieval Malwa, p 194, footnote 3. The author of the Ma'athir further adds that Fidan Khan and Haj Khan completely destroyed everything in the country.
4. See Rizvi, Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Uttara-Taimur-kalina Bharata, Part II, p. 97. See also the colophon of the MS. of Siddha-Chakra-katha, No 278 in the Virdhi Chandji Jaina Temple, Jaipur.
5. MS. of Nayakumara-chariu deposited in Virdhichandji Jaina temple, No. 234.
6. MS. of Katantra-rupa-mulavrtti deposited in Amer-sastra-bhandara.
7. For a detailed account see the Rayamala-raso. The Maharana himself, assisted by his three sons, is said to have led the army.
8. Nainsi's Khyat. Vol. I, p. 102.
9. Briggs, Tarikh-i-Firishda, IV, p. 243.
10. Nainsi's Khyat, I, p. 108.
11. See Ram Vallabh Somani's paper Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din and Rajasthan, p. 11.
12. G. H. Ojha and H. B. Sarda quote two *dohas* in support of this account :-

(अ) भाग लल्ला प्रथिराज आयो ।

सिहरै साथरै स्याल व्यायो ॥

(आ) द्रड चढै पृथिमल्ल भाजं टोडो ।

लल्ला तेयो सिर धारै लोहो ॥

13. Viravinoda, I, pp. 346-7.
14. Ibid., I, p. 347.
15. Ibid., pp. 347-9.
16. उडर्यो प्रथिराज
17. G. H. Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, pp. 330-2.
18. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, pp. 140-2; G. H. Ojha, History of Udaipur State, I, p. 345, footnote 3.
19. Viravinod, I, p. 35.
20. G. H. Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, JBAS, LVI, Part I, pp. 78-90. Other inscriptions of Rayamala noted by G. H. Ojha are :-
(a) Ekalingji inscription of V. 1545/1488 A. D.
(b) Jawar inscription of V. 1554/1497 A. D.
(c) Narlai inscription of V. 1557/1500 A. D. already referred to above.
21. धनिनि निघनमाप्ते वित्तहीने तदीयं, घनमवसिपभोग्यं प्राहुरर्थागमज्ञाः ।
विदितनिखिलशास्त्रो राजमल्लस्तदुज्झन् विशदयति यशोभिर्वाल्पभूपान्वनायाम् ॥८३॥
(Eklingji Inscription)
22. Bhavnagar Inscription, pp. 121-24.

KHANZADA HASAN KHAN OF MEWAT

S. T. H. ZAIDI

Khanzada Raja¹ Hasan Khan Mewati still lives in the hearts of millions of people living in Mewat. He is still remembered as a brave warrior, who fought shoulder to shoulder with Rana Sanga and his allies against a foreign invader, namely Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India.

The founder of the Khanzada race, Bahadur Nahar belonged to the *Chandravamsi* Jadav Rajput clan which ruled over a kingdom that included Mewat. Their rule over Mewat came to an end in 592 Hijri (1195 A.D.) when Sultan Mohammad Ghori removed Raja Than Pal of Thangarh near Bayana from power and entrusted it to one of his nobles, Sardar Bahauddin Tughril.

Mewat came under the control of a prince of this family once again when two princes of this *Jadavansi* family, namely Sheo Pal and Samber Pal came in contact with Sultan Firoz Tughluq, who having been impressed by Samber Pal's bravery, conferred upon him the title of Bahadur Nahar, and also gave him the Jagir of Mewat near Noh in Gurgaon district. Samber Pal, who later came to be known as Bahadur Nahar accepted Islam and became one of the most powerful nobles of the Delhi Sultanate. This origin of the Khanzadas is accepted by all including Pandit Jwala Sahai Adalati², Maulvi Mazharuddin³, Sheikh Makhdum⁴ and Hamid Qalander⁵. Besides them, Major Powlett⁶, and Hendley⁷ also subscribed to the same view.

Bahadur Nahar played an important role in the political affairs of the Delhi Sultanate after the death of Firoz Tughluq. Ferishta has given an account of the influence exercised by Bahadur Nahar on the political life of the Delhi Sultanate⁸. He is said to have been poisoned by his father-in-law, Jhamoo Singh, who took Bahadur Nahar's allegiance to the Muslim rulers as a blow to the Rajput pride⁹.

Bahadur Nahar had distributed his jagirs among his nine sons. Alwar consisting of fourteen *mahals* came to the lot of Bahadur Khan, who had twelve sons, one of them being Firoz Khan. Allawal Khan, the father of Hasan Khan, was fourth in direct descent from Firoz Khan.

Before we proceed to discuss the history of Hasan Khan Mewati, it seems desirable to say a few words about the title Khanzada which seems to be a mark of distinction for these rulers of Mewat. There are three different opinions in regard to this title. Firstly, it is said to be a changed form of the title Khanazad, meaning a slave, which was given to the Mewati chiefs, when they accepted the allegiance of the Sultans of Delhi. This does not seem to be acceptable, because the Mewatis would not have been satisfied with this title at all specially when the Sultans of Delhi, looking to the political condition of that period wanted to silence the intractable and war like chiefs of Mewat. Besides this, Khanazad seems

to be a very unusual and strange title ever given to important nobles like Bahadur Nahar or others. Finally, the plural of the word should have been khan-i-zadan instead of Khazade.

The Khazadas of Mewat claim that in view of their Jadav descent, the original title given by the Sultans of Delhi was Khan Jadav, which subsequently remained in use as Khazada. This does not stand to reason as the word Khazada cannot be a derivation from Khan Jadav.

The third view is that there was a practice of conferring the title of Khan on important nobles in the medieval times. Ziauddin Barni has mentioned that all the forty Shamsi slaves bore the title of Khan¹⁰. Although there is no recorded evidence, yet the practice of the age clearly indicates that the title must have been given to Bahadur Nahar or some one else in the line. Naturally, others descending from him came to be known as Khazadas, i.e. the sons of the Khans.

The Khazadas had attained a high political and social status in the royal circles in Delhi. In the time of Sikandar Lodi their influence increased further on account of the fact that the wives of Allawal Khan and Sikandar Lodi were real sisters¹¹. Allawal Khan along with his son Hasan Khan and grand son Nahar Khan had fought Babur an ally of Ibrahim Lodi. Allawal Khan was either killed in this battle or was poisoned by some enemy soon after the battle of Panipat. Hasan Khan's son, Nahar Khan, was taken prisoner and kept as a hostage for negotiating with Hasan Khan from a vantage point and for winning him over to his side. After the death of Allawal Khan, Hasan Khan smoothly stepped into the shoes of his father. It seems quite logical that Hasan Khan was associated with the civil and military administration of his territory even during the life time of Allawal Khan, who must have thus utilized the talents of his worthy son.

As stated by Babur, Hasan Khan's ancestors had made Tijara their capital¹², although the fort of Alwar was also under their occupation. From the accounts of the Muslim historians, local traditions, and the ruins of the old buildings, it is evident that the Khazadas ruled over a large area which included Rewari, Jhajhar, Sonha, Indor (near Tijara), Tapukra, Tawroo, Ferozpur Jhirkha, Gurgaon, Badshapur, Bhindosi, Tijar, Kishangarh, Alwar, Dadeekar, Bahadurgpur, Ramgarh, Pahari, Kamah, Khoh Kalan, and Ghosavi or Govindgarh¹³. A number of domes, mosques, Idgah, mausoleums and fortresses are scattered over these places.

We also learn from reliable sources that Ibrahim Lodi returned the seven parganas which had been taken away by Bahlol Lodi from Ahmad Khan Mewati, the great grand father of Hasan Khan. Thus, Hasan Khan had inherited a large and compact territory and the entire area known as Mewat must have been under his rule. Babur says, "The country of

Mewat lies not far from Delhi and yields a revenue of three or four krores. Hasan Khan Mewati had received the government of that country from his ancestors who governed it in uninterrupted succession, for nearly two hundred years. They had yielded an imperfect kind of submission to the Sultans of Delhi. The Sultans of Hind whether from the extent of territories, or from want of opportunity or from obstacles apposed by the mountainous nature of the country, had never subdued Mewat. They had never been able to reduce it to order, and were content to receive, such a degree of obedience as was tendered to them."¹⁴ Ahmad Yadgar¹⁵ and Ferishta¹⁶ also have written that Hasan Khan's ancestors ruled over Mewat continuously for two hundred years. Regarding the income of his territory, we have already quoted Babur. Maulvi Zakauulla Khan Dehvi also has written that Hasan Khan Mewati had inherited a territory from his ancestors which yield an income of four crores of silver *Tankas* ¹⁷.

In view of the above, we can conclude that Hasan Khan Mewati inherited a sizable territory yielding an income of four crores of silver *Tankas* and his ancestors owed a nominal allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi, and they enjoyed privileges and positions at the court of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi not available to others and must have been a point of envy for other nobles.

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Soon after assuming power, Hasan Khan was faced with a serious problem. Babur had already defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in 1526 A.D. and occupied Agra and Delhi. Rana Sanga was trying to bring about a powerful alliance of different powers to oppose Babur. Both Babur and Rana Sanga wanted to win over Hasan Khan to their sides, as both of them regarded him to be important ¹⁸. Babur freed Hasan Khan's son Nahar Khan and gave him a robe of honour in the hope of winning over Hasan Khan. Babur's memoirs are a testimony to his keenness and his efforts to win over Hasan Khan ¹⁹. On the other hand, Rana Sanga also wanted to win him over to his side by trying to convince him through a message that, having occupied Agra and Delhi, Babur intended to proceed against Mewat and the adjoining territories ²⁰.

Hasan Khan had to keep a number of things in view in arriving at a decision. His immediate problem was to drive out a foreign invader, Babur, and to restore the Lodi dynasty by supporting the cause of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi. For this it was imperative to join the alliance formed by Rana Sanga. This would also ensure the defence of his own territories against a possible invasion by Babur. A lesser figure under the circumstances would have jumped at an alliance with Babur ignoring the ideal of loyalty and service to the old masters, i.e. the Lodis, and defence of the mother land against a foreign invader. But Hasan Khan chose to uphold his ideal and ran the risk of opposing Babur for which he paid very dearly at the battle of Khanua (10 miles from

Sikri; 20 from Agra) on Saturday, March 16, 1527 A. D. fought between Babur on the one side and Rana Sanga and his allies including Hasan Khan on the other side. Rana Sanga left the battle field badly wounded and died later; but Hasan Khan died on the battle field fighting bravely.

As stated by Babur in his memoirs, Hasan Khan Mewati died on the battle field.²¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badauni, and Ferishta corroborate this statement but they differ with one another in the sense that Nizamuddin Ahmad says that Hasan Khan was struck with an arrow in the face,²² while Badauni says that the arrow struck him in the forehead²³ and Ferishta says that he was struck with a musket ball.²⁴ Ahmad Yadgar, the author of *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* gives a very curious account of the circumstances under which Hasan Khan Mewati was killed. According to him, Hasan Khan after having been wounded left the battle-field and arrived at a well where he was killed by one of his servants who behaved with infidelity towards his master on the advice of his brothers.²⁵

We are unable to accept this view for two reasons: firstly, because Babur's memoirs are looked upon with great deference by the students of history as he was a contemporary and his sources of information must have been unimpeachable, although we might disagree with much that he has written about Hasan Khan Mewati on account of his personal bias, but in this particular case his statement seems to be correct specially when it has been substantiated by the testimony of other historians like Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Badauni, and Ferishta. Secondly the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* is not so dependable in this particular case. Even Elliot and Dowson have written that the author, Ahmad Yadgar shows a mashed predilection "for marvellous and ridiculous stories."²⁶ Hence we can very safely hold the claim that Hasan Khan Mewati was killed on the battlefield.

Hasan Khan was true to his words. When, once, he allied himself with Rana Sanga, he fought to the end. His alliance with Rana Sanga partly shows his devotion to the Lodi family and partly his outlook which was free from narrow considerations of caste, creed and religion. He was an astute politician who was able to resist the blandishments of Babur and see through his game of 'divide and win', and invited his bitter and envenomed remarks cited below. Babur has called him 'ungrateful', 'an infidel' and "the great promoter and leader of all the commotion and rebellion that ensued....." Babur's charges are unfounded. Hasan Khan had tried to defend the motherland and to restore the Lodi dynasty to the throne of Delhi. In this way he was only trying to serve the cause of his old masters by joining the alliance formed by Rana Sanga against Babur, who in the eyes of an Indian was merely a foreign adventurer who had defeated and killed Sultan Ibrahim Lodi who too, was a Muslim. Similarly Sultan Mahmud Lodi, whom Hasan Khan and his allies wanted

to restore to power was also a Muslim. In the words of Sri Ram Sharma: "It was not a war of the Hindus against the Musalmans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country."

Apart from this, the political factors also justified Hasan Khan's anxiety to drive away the foreigner. Babur had already occupied Agra and Delhi, and was determined to attack Mewat. As subsequent events prove he did come to Mewat immediately after the battle of Khanua. However generous and considerate Babur might have been towards Hasan Khan on account of the political expediency, he could never be sure of being given the same status which he and his country i.e. Mewat enjoyed under the Sultans of Delhi whom Hasan Khan's ancestors had served for centuries. It is therefore, established beyond doubt that Babur's bitter and envenomed remarks against Hasan Khan are due to his personal bias and selfish motives.

Besides being a true warrior Hasan Khan had other accomplishments of the age. He is said to have been a cultured ruler. Sharafuddin, the author of *Muraqa-i-Mewat* has written that once prince Bahadur Khan, son of Muzaffer Khan of Gujarat came to Mewat and Hasan Khan treated him with the traditional hospitality of the orient.

Hasan Khan was a poet also. He had real merit and royal demeanour as Badauni mentions on the authority of Khan-i-Khana Bairam Khan.²⁰ The fact that he could extract this much of appreciation from a rabid fanatic like Badauni amply proves Hasan Khan's merit and poetic pre-eminence amongst his contemporary princes. He was god fearing and had a Sufi tinge in his mental make up.

Just before the battle of Khanua he went to Syed Jamal Saheb Bahadurpuri, perhaps his preceptor, and sought his permission to join hands with Rana Sanga and throw out the foreign invader. The saint dissuaded him, but the call of duty was too powerful to resist. He went to the battlefield and met an unfortunate and untimely end.

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THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY OF BABUR IN THE BATTLE OF KHANUA

J. M. MITTAL

Babur, though has given the strength of Rajput army as two lacs and one thousand, is silent about the strength of his own army. Hence it becomes very difficult to have an assessment of his strength. On a careful perusal of *Baburnama*, I have tried to give an assessment as follows :—

Babur has given the names of all his commanders who fought on his side in the centre, right wing, left wing, as well as in the flanking parties¹. Their names are as follows :—

CENTRE

Right hand

1. Chin Timur Sultan.
2. Sulaiman Shah.
3. Khawaja Kamaluddin.
4. Dost-i-Khawand.
5. Kamaluddin.
6. Jamaluddin.
7. Nizamuddin.
8. Darwesh-i-Mohammed.
9. Shihabuddin.
10. Abdullah
11. Nizamuddin.

Left hand

1. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan.
2. Shiekh Zain.
3. Kamaluddin.
4. Nizamuddin Tardibeg.

5. Sher Afghan.
6. Araish Khan.
7. Khawaja Kamaluddin.

RIGHT

1. Humayun.
2. Qasim Husain Sultan.
3. Nizamuddin Ahmad-i-Yusuf.
4. Jalaluddin Hindu Beg.
5. Jalaluddin Khusro Kukulash.
6. Qiyam Beg.
7. Wali.
8. Nizamuddin Pir Quli.
9. Khawaja Kamaluddin.
10. Abdul Shakoor.
11. Sulaiman Aqa.
12. Husain Aqa.
13. Murtuza Beg.
14. Shamsuddin Mohd. Kukuldash.
15. Nizamuddin Khawajgi
16. Dilawar Khan.
17. Malik Dad.
18. Shaikh Guran.

LEFT

1. Sayyid Mehdi Khawaja.
2. Mohd. Sulaiman Mirza.
3. Adil Sultan.
4. Abdul Aziz.
5. Shamsuddin Mohd.
6. Jalaluddin Qutlug.
7. Jalaluddin Shah Husain.
8. Nizamuddin.
9. Kamal Khan.
10. Jamal Khan.
11. Ali Khan.
12. Nizam Khan.

Right Flanking Party

1. Tardika.
2. Malik Qasim.

Left Wing

1. Mumin Atka.
2. Rustam Turkman.

Chief of Staff

1. Nizamuddin Sultan Mohd. Bakshi.

Apart from these, there was some force kept in reserve also which was unleashed during evening hours.

Thus there are 53 commanders small or big, leaving aside the strength of Babur's personal force as well as that of Reserve. The forces under Chin Timur Sultan, Humayum, and Sayyid Mehdi Khawaja must be very high (20,000 each), because each of them was the leading commander who used to lead expeditions also. And the last two were the aspirants of Mughal throne after Babur. Others must have had relatively small forces. Then the flanking parties who have to surround an army of two lacs must be at least 10,000 each and equally must have the strength of the Reserves as well as Babur's personal forces. Adding all these the strength of Mughal force comes to one lac. My this calculation also gets strength from Babur's following remarks:

"And since band after band of Pagan troops followed each other to help their men, so we, in our turn send... Hindu Beg and after him Muhani Kulkuldass... and after him Yunus Ali and after him Abdullah..." It clearly shows that Babur also sent band after band of his trusted troops in his turn.

Ferishta has given the strength of Babur's forces as 20,000 and Rushbrook Williams, eight to ten thousand.

It means that each of the seven wings was having 1300 soldiers on an average according to Rushbrook Williams and 2600 soldiers according to Ferishta. This is quite impossible as we all know that Humayun used to go against rebels with heavy forces and Babur had made recruitment before the battle of Khanua. Hence I conclude that Babur's fighting strength was not less than one lac in the battle of Khanua.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPEROR SHERSHAH AND NAGRAJ
A STATESMAN OF BIKANER

JASWANT SINGH

The part played by Nagraj, a statesman and a minister of Bikaner, in persuading Sher Shah to invade Marwar and his subsequent relations with that emperor has escaped the attention of all the contemporary Persian historians, as well as the modern historians.

Nagraj was the son of Varsing, a minister of Rao Jaitsi of Bikaner. Varsing earned undying fame by successfully appealing

to Muzaffar Shah the king of Gujarat and getting abolished the Pilgrim Tax, levied upon the Jain pilgrims, visiting the holy shrines in Gujarat. Nagraj was reputed for fathoming the secrets of the people by a mere gesture of eye. A good counsellor, philanthropic, protector of refugees, truthful and possessor of insight into ideas of the people as he had been, was appointed as minister after the death of his father and rose high into the estimate of his master Rao Jaitsi.

In the year 1541 A. D., Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur marched in person with 20,000 soldiers against Rao Jaitsi of Bikaner and killed him in a battle fought at the village Sobawa. Flushed with the success, Maldeo invested the fort of Bikaner, captured it and returned to Jodhpur after leaving his men in charge of that fort and the territory of Bikaner conquered.

Rao Jaitsi in anticipation of the invasion of Rao Maldeo had wisely acted upon the counsel of Nagraj and had transferred his family and the heir apparent Kalyan Mal to Sirsa, a safe place out of reach of Maldeo. Nagraj himself escorted the ruling family to Sirsa.

Now comes a disputed point of history, as to what was the main cause of Sher Shah's expedition against Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur, and also who was the main instrument in bringing about that invasion of Sher Shah. Was it Sher Shah's desire for the conquest of the land of Marwar, as appeared from his remarks passed later on: "For a handful of bajara I would have lost the Empire of Hindustan." Was it that he wanted to eliminate Maldeo's power which had become a danger to him, as Dr. Ishwari Prasad observes "the cause of the invasion must have been Sher Shah's desire to subdue a powerful chieftain i. e. Maldeo"? Was it that he wanted to punish Maldeo for intrigues with the fugitive Mughal emperor Humayun? as Qanungo remarks "Maldeo wished Humayun back on the throne of Delhi and prepared himself to reinstate him there with the Rajput sword."

All the Persian historians agree that Sher Shah launched expedition against Maldeo on his own initiative. On the other hand, all the *Khyats* of Jodhpur and Bikaner agree with the view that Sher Shah did not invade Marwar on his own initiative but was persuaded to do so. It was Biram according to *Meertiyani-Ki-Khyat*, *Muhnot Nainsi-Ki-Khyat* and *Jodhpur-Ki-Khyat*. It was Kalyan Mal, the son of Rao Jaitsi himself according to *Dalpat Vilas*. It was Bhimraj according to *Dayaldass-Ki-Khyat*. According to L. P. Tessitori, both Kalyan Mal and Biram, the chief of Merta, who was deposed by Maldeo persuaded, Shersah.

All these *Khyats*, including the *Peedhiyavali* of Rathores, can not be relied upon because firstly, these were written at least a century after that event. Secondly, these were written under the court influence. Thirdly, they

were biased for or prejudiced against one or other historical personalities of that time.

In this connection the most authentic account has been furnished by *Karamchandravanshotkirtankam*, a Sanskrit work written by Jaisom. It was written in the year 1593 A. D. and its author is supposed to be without any bias or prejudice as regards Rao Maldeo, or Kalyan Mal or Sher Shah. The author unlike the authors of the *Khyats* wrote freely without any court influence or suggestion.

According to this work, Nagraj who was very clever in offering suitable *nazars*, at the head of a party of Rajput warriors left Sirsa under good omens, and approached Sher Shah. It can be safely presumed that Biram, the deposed chief of Merta, or Bheemraj the younger brother of Rao Kalyan Mal, or both might have accompanied Nagraj and joined that party of Rajput warriors, for which the *Khyats* have given credit to them and regarded them as the main instruments in bringing forth the invasion of Sher Shah. Nagraj pleased Sher Shah by offering him elephants, horses, and camels as *nazar*. According to his request, Sher Shah invaded Marwar and annihilated the army of Rao Maldeo, with the result that the latter had to withdraw his men and soldiers in occupation of the fort and territory of Bikaner. Sher Shah with his own hand put *tilak* on the forehead of Kalyan Mal, indicating thereby that he had been recognised as the ruler of Bikaner. Thereafter Kalyan Mal returned to Bikaner and occupied his throne.

After accomplishing that task, Nagraj did not return to Bikaner but went away with Shershah and became his confidential adviser. His counsel was very much helpful to Shershah in the suppression of powerful enemies. He rose high in the estimate of Shershah and received various honours. He was fully satisfied with the treatment of Shershah and ultimately left his court with his permission and on his way to Bikaner, died at Ajmer.

Shershah is famous for patronising the Hindus before the reign of Akbar. We hear of only two names, Brhamjeet Gaur and Todarmal in the service of Shershah. But now we can add the name of Nagraj also in the list of Hindus favoured by Shershah.

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THE BATTLE OF DATANI (17th OCTOBER, 1583 A.D.)

A.S. PANWAR

“Sirohi”, as Colonel G.B. Malleson remarks in his work *Native States of India*, “is the one domain in Rajputana which maintained its independence, acknowledging the suzerainty of neither Mogul, Rathor, nor Marhata.”¹ In fact ‘the magnificently stubborn Deora’ the particular sect of the Chauhans who ruled over Sirohi during the past six and a half centuries fought to the last for their self-respect and honour of their motherland. Attacked repeatedly by the neighbouring Rajas, the children of the soil have never acknowledged themselves conquered. Even the invaders who succeeded by sheer force in over running the country once or twice were at last forced to content themselves with verbal assertions of their suzerainty. The most illuminating chapter in the annals of Sirohi is the one depicting the history of Maharao Surtan whose brilliant exploits, have shed lustré on the Deora clan and whose victory over Akbar’s forces at Datani forms still a part of greetings of the rulers of Sirohi by the family bards—नन्दगिरिनरेश कटारबंध चहुआरण, दतानी खेतरा जेत जुहार ।² (Hail king of Nandgiri, the dagger wearing Chauhan, the victor of the field of Datani”). Datani is a village in Sirohi district situated in the Reodar Tahsil at a distance of 35 miles south-west of Sirohi City. It is like a valley having Mount Abu on the north-east and some hills on the south-west. This important battle has still been lying in oblivion and it has yet to find its proper place in the history. The circumstances leading to this famous battle are as follows.

Maharao Man Singh I of Sirohi passed away in 1572 A.D. without any male issue. While on death-bed he asked his *sardars* to enthrone his near relative Surthan Bhanawat. Accordingly, Surtan was installed on the throne of Sirohi by the nobles in 1572 A.D. He was then only 12 years of age. Deora Bija Harrajot was the minister and head of the administration before Surtan’s accession. He was always in search of an opportunity to become an independent ruler of Sirohi. Surtan’s accession gave his wishes a great set back. Hence forth through-out the major part of Surtan’s reign, he was a constant trouble to the Maharao.

In 1576 A.D. Maharao Rai Singh of Bikaner passed through Sirohi on his way to Saurashtra. Surtan received him hospitably and Rai Singh also showed his high regards for the Sirohi sovereign. Bija, as restless as ever, met him and entreated him to help in securing for himself the principality of Sirohi and in the event of so, offered to present half the State to the emperor. Rai Singh of Bikaner felt inclined to refuse as he had not the remotest right to the chiefship. Yet securing the good will of the emperor by presenting to him half the State was a temptation too strong to be resisted. He, therefore, told Surtan that if he gave half of his State to Akbar he would be relieved of all anxiety from Bija. Surtan agreed. Bija was expelled from Sirohi and Madan Singh Patawat was appointed to govern half of the State apportioned to the emperor, with an army of five hundred soldiers.³

After the death of Maharana Udai Singh at Gogoonda his son Jagmal Sisodia, the proclaimed successor by him, was not accepted as a rightful claimant to the throne by the nobles. Maharana Pratap was girded with sword and hailed as a king of Mewar by the nobles. Thus disappointed, Jagmal went to the Mughal court where he was welcomed by Akbar. Akbar took advantage of this opportunity and further fomented the rivalry between the two brothers. He was thinking of granting a jagir to Jagmal when Rai Singh's letter, mentioning the inclusion of the portion of Sirohi in the imperial *khalsa*, was received. The courtiers submitted that Sisodia Jagmal was married to the daughter of Maharao Man Singh of Sirohi, that he was thoroughly acquainted with that part of the country and had petitioned also to that effect. The emperor considering Sisodia Jagmal qualified in every way sent him to Sirohi with his firman where Surtan made over to him half of his dominions. Bija Deora approached the emperor as claimant to the same half, but had to come back disappointed. He then joined Sisodia Jagmal and stayed in his court at Sirohi.⁴ Thus the seeds of schism were sown between the Deoras and the Sisodias by the Mughal emperor.

There were now two rulers of Sirohi. Surtan lived in the royal mansions and Jagmal in other houses. At first things went on smoothly but Jagmal's wife sowed the seeds of discord which were watered by Bija. Jagmal's wife who was a daughter of Maharao Man Singh of Sirohi could not bear the sight of the strangers (Surtan's family) living in her father's palace and therefore, she instigated her husband. Thus infuriated Sisodia Jagmal with Bija attacked the palace of Surtan in his absence but in vain. Jagmal now thought that he would be compelled to leave Sirohi on Surtan's return and therefore, left Sirohi of his own accord and went to Akbar. Akbar at once sent Maharao Rai Singh Chandrasenot and Koli Singh of Dantiwara with a detachment of the imperial forces to Sirohi. As soon as the tidings of Jagmal's arrival reached Surtan, he left Sirohi and having strategic motives, went to Mt. Abu. Jagmal occupied Sirohi

and lived in the palaces. Jagmal also wanted to wrest the fort of Abu from Surtan and therefore marched towards Achalgarh. Surtan advanced to meet him and halted at a strategic place, four miles from him. Bija Deora and others were asked by Rai Singh Chandrasenot to go with some Muslim soldiers to Bhitrat. While going to Bhitrat, Bija warned his comrades Rai Singh and Jagmal to be very careful in case Surtan attacked them. The Rathors thereupon tauntingly replied that where there were no cocks, morning never dawned.⁵

Surtan atonce informed Deora Samra of Bija's departure towards Bhitrat. Samra said, "There is no time to lose. Rai Singh and Jagmal were stationed at Datani; they must be attacked atonce". On 17th October, 1583 A.D Maharao Surtan sounded his drums of war and fell upon the enemy.⁶ A grim battle was fought. Shots of cannons and guns exchanged and the battle lasted for a long time. The imperial forces finding themselves in a precarious position sent the intoxicated elephants in the *Harawal* (front row). Being asked by Surtan to force the retraction of such elephants, poet Duda Asia came forward to perform this tough task. Duda Asia remembering the name of late Kalyannal Rathor, the bravo, started to shoot arrows at the heads of the elephants. Within no time the elephants began to retreat. At this juncture Maharao Surtan and Deora Samra attacked the imperial forces more fiercely. The valour of Surtan astonished his enemies. The Sisodias and the Rathors left the field in consternation and Surtan remained the victor of the day.⁷

Sisodia Jagmal, Rai Singh Chandrasenot, Koli Singh of Dantiwara the three leaders of the imperial army were killed in this battle. The casualties on the side of imperial army were heavy and included 22 warriors of Rathor clan, the list of which is given in the *Khayat* of Muhta Nainsi.⁸ Deora Bija was also killed in the valley of Mt. Abu near Vasthanji.⁹

Akbar's army met dreadful reverses and very few escaped unhurt. Rai Singh's state-drum (the drum is still kept in Sirohi), his weapons and horses, Jagmal's weapons and other property fell in Surtan's hands. Very few Rajputs of Sirohi army were killed, the most important of them being Deora Samra Narsinhot. When the Sirohi monarch traversed the field, he saw the famous Rathors' *charan* poet, Adha Dursa, among the wounded. A Rajput who accompanied the Rao said, "Give him also a dose of milk," which meant "Despatch him." Dursa said, "I am a *charan*, not a Rajput and it is improper for Rajputs to kill *charans*." The Maharao then said, "If you are a *charan*, compose a verse in praise of Deora Samra who has just been killed." The *charan* thereupon read *extempore* :—

वर रावां जस झूगरा, ब्रद पोतां सत्र हार ।

समरे मरण सुधारियो, चहु थोकां चहुआरण ॥

(Samra has glorified his death in four ways, he saved the land of his king, acquired fame for his hills, a good name to be proud of for his descendants and caused a havoc among the enemy.)

The Maharao was extremely pleased to hear the verse; gave him a seat in his own palanquin, had his wounds cured, afterwards made him his court poet and granted a jagir.¹⁰

This victory was gained solely through the valour of Surtan and his fame resounded throughout the whole of Rajputana. Adha Dursa composed a verse in praise of Maharao Surtan's chivalry and victory in this battle of Datani which is given below :-

“नन्दगिरि नरेश, कटारखंभ चहुआरा, दतानी खेतरा जेत जुहार”

“गल जोड़े छत्र, बरियारा गढ़नहार, वंका भंडारा, पादोरण हार”

“घोड़े चढ़ हाथियांरी गजबडारा विदुआणहार सूरतारा ग्रह, नभ-भूपण”

“शरणाया साधार, शरणायी वच्चे पिजर”¹¹

Sisodia Jagmaal and Rai Singh Chandrasenot were killed in the palace of Sirohi¹² according to the *Akbarnama* but this account pertaining to the deaths of Jagmaal and Rai Singh is not true. They were both killed in the battle of Datani.¹³ Muhta Nainsi known as Abul Fazl of Rajasthan records the same facts¹⁴ Annals of Jodhpur, as also the papers of (1611 and 1612 A.D.) 1668 and 1669 V.S found there, expressly state that Rai Singh Chandrasenot was killed at Datani with several well known Rathors whose names are mentioned.¹⁵ The cenotaph of Deora Samra is still in existence at Datani.¹⁶ Deora Bija's cenotaph is also found at Ubera village near Vasthanji. Abul Fazl has, however, ignored the reverse of Datani and says that they were killed in the palace, this being stated evidently with the intention of hiding the defeat of the imperial army by a petty chief. From the above facts we conclude that this battle was fought at Datani and there seems to be no hitch in accepting it.

Thus the battle of Datani is one of the most important battles not only of Sirohi but of the whole of Rajasthan. It showed that inspite of dissensions, a ruler of a petty State of Rajasthan could baffle the mighty forces of the Mughal empire. Datani is in fact a Thermopylae where Maharao Surtan like Leonidas strove hard to keep the banner of liberty ever flying, thus inspiring other rulers for the same noble cause.

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SAWAI JAI SINGH AND THE SAYYID BROTHERS

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With Farrukhsiyar's victory over emperor Jahandar Shah on 31st December 1712, the political scene at Delhi was drastically altered. On 1st February 1713, Zulfiqar Khan, the Wazir, was put to death and his father Asad Khan, the Wakil-i-Mutlaq was dismissed in disgrace.¹ The resulting liquidation of the Irani group disturbed the equilibrium which had existed till now between the various groups of nobles at the court and in the coming years paved the way for unbridled rise of the Sayyids. Under the new set up, Sayyid Abdullah Khan became the Wazir with the title of Qutb-ul-mulk and the governorship of Multan. Sayyid Hussain Ali received the post of Mir Bakshi with rank of 7000/7000 and the government of Bihar.² The Sayyids knowing that their sudden elevation to the two highest posts would be resented by the senior and more experienced nobles, proceeded cautiously and tried to win the goodwill of other sections in the nobility. In deference to Hindu sentiments, they secured formal abolition of the Jizya and pilgrim tax. To satisfy the Turani leaders they secured for Chin Qulich Khan the viceroyalty of the Deccan, rank of 7000/7000 and title of Nizam-ul-Mulk; for Mohammad Amin Khan the post of second Bakshi and for his son Qamruddin Khan that of the Darogah of the Ahdis.

The case with Jai Singh and Maharaja Ajit Singh was different. The two Rajput rulers, with the assistance of Mewar, had successfully defied the Imperial Government during 1708-10 on the question of restoration of their *watans* resumed by the emperor Bahadur Shah soon after his accession, and had never been reconciled towards him though their demands had subsequently been acceded to. They took no part in the contest for the throne which took place at Lahore after Bahadur Shah's death in February 1712 and though emperor Jahandar Shah, who came out successful from the contest, conferred upon Jai Singh rank of 7000/7000 and on 14th November, ten days before prince Aizuddin's route at

Khajwah, appointed him to the Government of Malwa and Maharaja Ajit Singh to that of Gujarat with rank of 9000/9000, they did not move from their States.³

Jai Singh secures government of Malwa

Farrukhsiyar, after his victory over Jahandar Shah agreed to restore Jai Singh and Ajit Singh the *mansabs* they were holding at the time of Bahadur Shah's death but was unwilling to consider the *mansabs* etc., granted to them by Jahandar Shah⁴ But even in Bahadur Shah's time, the two princes were dissatisfied with their ranks and postings received from that emperor. When summoned to the court by emperor Farrukhsiyar, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh expressed their willingness to accept postings in the provinces and promised to visit the court after their fears had been allayed. Privately they asked for them the governments of Malwa and Gujarat or Malwa and Burhanpur.⁵ But the emperor disapproved the idea of posting both the Rajas in the same quarter. In his letter of 16th September, Jagjiwandas, Amber's wakil, informed Jai Singh that Abdullah Khan had recommended him (Jai Singh) for the grant of *subahdari* of Malwa or Burhanpur and had suggested grant of Lahore or Oudh or Allahabad Subahs to Ajit Singh.⁶ But in the middle of October 1713, orders were passed appointing Jai Singh to Malwa and Ajit Singh to Thatta.⁷ The reason for Ajit Singh's appointment to an inferior province was his persistent refusal to visit the Court and for getting Mohkham Singh, son of Rao Indra Singh, murdered at Delhi on 16th August 1713.⁸ Ajit Singh's conduct led to Sayyid Husain Ali's campaign against him in December 1713.⁹ In May 1714, Ajit Singh was forced to go to Thatta, to send his son to the court, and to marry his daughter to the emperor.

Abdullah Khan and Jai Singh try to secure Gujarat to Ajit Singh

Despite the harshness of the terms, Ajit Singh's relations with the Sayyids increasingly improved in the coming years. The reason is found in Sayyid Abdullah Khan's secret efforts to secure for Ajit Singh the government of Gujarat for which latter was very anxious. By obliging Ajit Singh in this manner, the Qutb-ul-mulk hoped to win him over to his side, thereby strengthening his position vis-a-vis the emperor. Farrukhsiyar's relation with his ministers, never cordial, had sharply deteriorated soon after victory over Jahandar Shah. Each side suspected the other of trying to monopolise power and undermining the position of the other. Each side charged the other of bad faith and ingratitude.

In early July, while Ajit Singh was reported to be proceeding to Thatta, Sayyid Abdulla Khan sent a verbal message to Jai Singh suggesting that he along with Ajit Singh should march towards south to face the Marathas who were intruding into Malwa regularly since 1710. Abdulla Khan would then impress upon the emperor the need to grant Gujarat to

Ajit Singh in view of the increasing threat to that province from the Marathas. The emperor, Abdulla Khan believed, would agree to his suggestion and Ajit Singh would secure the province of his choice. In his letter of 6th July 1714, Jai Singh informed Ajit Singh about Abdulla Khan's message.¹⁰ Though Ajit Singh did not act upon it, he never took charge of Thatta, and was soon ordered to take charge of Subah Ahmabad. There is no doubt that Abdulla Khan was mainly instrumental in securing Gujarat for Ajit Singh who now drifted to the camp of his ally.

Jai Singh in Malwa

Upto the middle of 1714, Jai Singh's relation with the Sayyids were quite cordial. In November 1713, he left for Ujjain to take charge of the province. There he gave a good account of himself in checking the Maratha incursions and in dealing with the trouble makers like Babu Ram Jat, Dilir Afghan, Mohan Singh Adinat of Barwani etc. Meanwhile, the relations between the Sayyids and the emperor were going from bad to worse and soon Jai Singh was drawn into their vortex.

Jai Singh's relations with the Sayyids cool off

From 1715 Jai Singh's relations with the Sayyids cooled off no doubt on account of his refusal to join their camp. Jai Singh did not feel any need to court Qutb-ul-Mulk's favour so long as he believed himself secure in the emperor's favour "In former reigns", writes Mirza Muhammad, "a noble, when he found the sovereign gracious to him never thought of paying court to any else"¹¹ In July 1715, when Hussain Ali passed through Ujjain on way to the Deccan to take charge of the province, Jai Singh ignored him and went away to a village 70 miles from Ujjain to marry the daughter of a Chauhan Jagirdar. Hussain Ali did not fail to protest against this intentional breach of protocol. He suspected emperor's connivance in this and complained, "If this movement is in accordance with intimation from the Court, let it be ordered that I return from this place otherwise Daud Khan will behave in the same way tomorrow." The emperor replied regarding Jai Singh's misbehavior: "the Amir-ul-Umara (Hussain Ali) has been invested with the power of appointing or dismissing him. Moreover there was no likelihood that Daud Khan behaving in a similar manner."¹² The emperor knew that the Amir-ul-Umara would dare not dismiss Jai Singh as that would precipitate a crisis and for which the Sayyids were not prepared. Nor did Jai Singh have any fear of Hussain Ali as his letter of 26th Jan., 1715 to Maharana Sangram Singh indicates. "Amir-ul-Umara is proceeding to the Deccan via Ajmer", he wrote, "He has intentionally chosen this route. Let us see what he intends doing there. We should remain prepared to deal with him. If he has evil intentions, he will be put to shame. I will do as per your orders." The letter shows the growing distrust and estrangement between Jai Singh and the Sayyids.¹³

Jai Singh goes to the Court against Hussain Ali's wish

Towards the end of September, 1715, Jai Singh received emperor's letter calling him to the court. But shortly afterwards Husain Ali wrote to him not to leave Malwa in order to face the Maratha inroad.¹⁴ But on receiving the emperor's orders again, he left Malwa and arrived at Ajmer in the middle of March. From there he sent Deep Singh Kachhawa and Jagram, two senior officials of Amber, to meet the emperor.¹⁵ He was delayed, probably at Amber, and reached the Court in the middle of September. Shortly afterwards he was asked to lead campaign against Churaman Jat.

The Jat campaign further embitters the relations

Jai Singh's relations with the Sayyids were further strained on account of this campaign. While Jai Singh did his utmost to capture Thun, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, whom the emperor had not consulted about this campaign tried his best to save Churaman.¹⁶ Firstly, Jai Singh had to tolerate in his army many officers who were hand-in-glove with the Sayyids. Among these were Maharao Bhim Singh of Kotah, Rao Gaj Singh of Narwar and Sayyid Muzaffar Khan, the maternal uncle of the Sayyids.¹⁷ The Jats fought with great pluck and courage but Jai Singh too pressed the siege with great vigour despite famine conditions in the region, but he could not make Churaman to surrender. In January 1718, Jai Singh complained to the emperor that though he had repeatedly defeated the enemy, he was not inclined to yield on account of the secret encouragement and support that he was receiving from the court. Jai Singh's charge was right. Churaman had offered a bribe of rupees twenty lakhs to Sayyid Abdullah Khan and a tribute of thirty lakhs to the Government as a price for calling off the campaign.¹⁸ When Jai Singh returned to Delhi (third week of May 1718) he asserted that had the fight been permitted to continue for a month more, Churaman would have been brought down on his knees. He accused the Qutb-ul-mulk of cheating him of success against the Jats by pressing Churaman's application. To honour Jai Singh the emperor conferred upon him the Mahimaratib (21st May). Two days later, Abdulla Khan came to see him and presented him a dagger; Jai Singh in return offered a mohur to the Nawab.¹⁹

Meanwhile the emperor's efforts to liquidate the Sayyids were proceeding apace. He called Sarbuland Khan (July 1718) and the Nizam-ul-Mulk (September) to take lead in the matter but they had their own selfish objects; Abdullah Khan won them over by securing for them the government of Kabul and Malwa respectively. He also won over Mohammad Amin Khan, the Nizam's cousin whom Farrukhsiyar had

dismissed from the Subahdari of Malwa, by having him restored.²⁰ A few months later when the crisis reached its climax, he strongly advised Hussain Ali to depose Farrukhsiyar.²¹ Maharaja Ajit Singh who arrived towards the end of 1718 also joined the Sayyids.²²

In view of the continued attempts of the emperor to dislodge the Sayyids and the attempts of the latter to make their own position as formidable as possible, Abdullah Khan recalled Husain Ali from the Deccan who had agreed to go there (May 1715) on the clear understanding that nothing would be done which might prejudice their position. Husain Ali started from Aurangabad for Delhi in Nov., 1718. Besides 8000 to 9000 of his own troops, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath at the head of 1:000 to 12000 Maratha troops also accompanied him to secure the ratification of the treaty which Husain Ali had concluded with them conceding them right to collect *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* through their own agents in the Deccan Subah; confirmation of *Swarajya* and their recent conquests in Berar etc. Farrukhsiyar had refused to ratify the treaty on the ground that it was against the interests of the empire.²³

The emperor was much alarmed at the prospects of Husain Ali's arrival in Delhi and in vain sent firmans asking him to return as the situation there did not permit his absence from the Deccan.

Farrukhsiyar also tried to propitiate Sayyid Abdullah Khan and persuaded Jai Singh to visit the Sayyid. On 30th December 1718 Jai Singh had a meeting with the Nawab who received him courteously and presented him a dagger and some other articles. On 4th January 1718, Abdullah Khan returned the visit. He again visited Jai Singh's camp on the 11th January.²⁴ On 6th January, Jai Singh held a reception in the emperor's honour and was awarded the title of Rajadhiraj-Rajendra.²⁵

Husain Ali's arrival; the Sayyids manipulate Jai Singh's departure

On the 27th Rabi I (6th February 1719) Sayyid Husain Ali arrived in the vicinity of Delhi. While passing through the territory of Sawai Jai Singh, his troops plundered the villages, destroyed the standing crops and carried away women and children.²⁶ About a week later Sayyid Abdullah Khan told the emperor that his brother objected to Sawai Jai Singh's presence in the capital as he feared a clash between his (Jai Singh's) troops and the Marathas. He requested the emperor to dismiss Jai Singh from the Court and to ask him to return to his country forthwith.²⁷ Husain Ali also sent Balaji Pandit to convey that he had always entertained friendly feelings towards him (Jai Singh) and advised him to leave Delhi and return to his State. Jai Singh gave some assu-

rances of a friendly nature to Balaji and informed the emperor about Husain Ali's message.²⁸ As the emperor and his advisers were keen to avert the culmination of the crisis, he sent a personal note to Jai Singh bidding him to leave for Amber. "The need of the hour is that he (Jai Singh) should leave for his *watan* tomorrow and devote himself to the affairs of his Zamindari. He has been granted leave and *Khilat* was being sent for him. He need not wait for formal leave taking and should depart from here positively. With best wishes".

On receiving this note Jai Singh conveyed to the emperor that the Sayyids had no desire to settle the issue peacefully. "They want that I should be separated from your Majesty. Your Majesty's interest and welfare lies in coming out of the fort and pitching the royal tents outside. I am with your Majesty and assure you that none can dare touch your august person." He urged the emperor to place himself at the head of his household troops and to fall upon the Sayyids. He assured that he had with him 20000 tried and faithful soldiers and was prepared to fight to the last. "The moment your Majesty's troops and friends perceive that you are acting openly and with vigour, they would flock to you from all parts and will put it in your power to punish your enemies. I am even inclined to believe that at such a sight, the numbers that seem to follow the standard of the two brothers will quit it and return to their lawful master and will be assisting in crushing them to atom so that those falling at once from the height of their hopes shall be obliged to submit."²⁹ But the emperor, anxious to avoid a show-down, did not act upon Jai Singh's advice nor did he cancel the order desiring Jai Singh to leave for his State. Jai Singh therefore had to move out of the Delhi on 3rd Rabi II. The same day Husain Ali entered the capital. On 13th February, he had his first audience with the emperor. Jai Singh had been staying at Saraj Sahil outside Delhi. When he learnt that all the demands of the Sayyids had been fulfilled, he left for his State.³⁰ Five days later Farrukhsiyar was dragged out of the Palace, deposed and blinded and at a bizarre ceremony, Rafi-ud-darjat was installed as the emperor.

Jai Singh rises in revolt

After Farrukhsiyar's deposition and imprisonment, Jai Singh returned to Amber and began to prepare for the inevitable clash with the Sayyids. He sent urgent letters to Chhabila Ram Nagar the Governor of Allahabad, Chhatrasal Bundela, Maharao Budhsingh, the Nizam, and supported Mitra-sen's move to enthrone Nekusiyar, the eldest son of prince Akbar and a State prisoner in Agra fort since 1681. He carried out his role effectively and crowned Nekusiyar in the Agra fort on 4th May 1719.³¹ To secure Maratha help against the Sayyids, Jai Singh and Maharana Sangram Singh contacted Shahu also.³² But here, they were merely taking a chance as the Marathas had recently acquired important concessions

in the Deccan through the good offices of Sayyid Husain Ali and therefore were unlikely to go against the Sayyids, unless there was a chance of securing greater gains on their fall.

To meet the threat at Agra, the Sayyids promptly despatched an army under Haidar Quli Khan, Maharao Bhim Singh, Churaman Jat and others and on 14th June Husain Ali himself set out with 25000 troops to deal with the situation. By this time, Jai Singh had covered one stage and was awaiting Chhabila Ram's news. He also learnt that the Nizam was moving towards Agra.³³

To bar Jai Singh's path, the Sayyids instructed Nasratyar Khan, of Mewar, to take up position with a suitable force at Kala Dhar and to summon the Rajput zamindars of Amber, punishing those who did not join him by plundering their territory.³⁴ Sayyid Abdullah Khan also instructed Qayum Khan, the Zamindar of Fathpur and Jhunjhunu to "win over the Rajput Zamindars from the Mahals of the territory of the rebel" and to co-operate with Maharaja Ajit Singh's armies which would be coming from Marot side.³⁵ Besides this the Sayyids appointed Bakshi Dilawar Ali Khan and Zafar Khan with a suitable force at Fathpur.³⁶ In this manner, they tried to hemdown Jai Singh at Amber till they would be free from the siege of Agra Fort.

Jai Singh's correspondence with Maharaja Ajit Singh

But the Sayyids, while taking all prompt measures to counter Jai Singh's threat, were keen to avoid a war in Rajputana, which was bound to flare up if Jai Singh, fully backed by Mewar, was pushed too far. Hence, soon after Farrukhsiyar's deposition the Sayyids had informed Jai Singh that his State and *mansab* were being confirmed upon him and that he was being posted at Bidar.³⁷ Jai Singh did not accept the offer immediately and to gain time, prolonged the negotiations. But when the news of Nekusiyar's enthronement at Agra had been confirmed and Chhabila Ram was reported to be approaching Mathura, Jai Singh adopted defiant tone in his letter of 5th June, and rejecting the Sayyid's charges against him, justified his conduct.³⁸ With this letter the negotiations for a compromise ended and Jai Singh marched to Toda, about 80 miles south-west of Agra. His troops were wearing saffron robes and maur, indicating their determination to fight to the finish. But he was forced to halt there as there was no news as yet from Chhabila Ram.³⁹ The Nizam, as became known later on, kept himself aloof from the struggle and Chhabila Ram was held up in his province by the revolt of Jasan Singh of Kalpi, inspired at Sayyids's instance by Muhammad Khan Bangash.⁴⁰

The Sayyids were fully aware of the grave danger which Chhabila Ram's union with Jai Singh could pose for them. They therefore tried their best to wean him away from Jai Singh. Professing sincere friend-

ship with Chhabila Ram, whom he described as "the strength of my arms and my helper and assistant in all matters," he informed that an increase of 500 was being made in Girdhar Bahadur's *mansab* and assured him about an appropriate increase in his (Chhabila Ram's) *mansab* also after the fall of Agra Fort which was likely to be achieved in a week or ten days. He also asked Chhabila Ram to send Girdhar Bahadur to the Court.⁴¹

The Maharana exhorts Chhabila Ram

Painting a hopeful picture of the gathering opposition against the Sayyids, the Maharana informed that many persons being unhappy (on the Sayyid's side) had contacted Jai Singh and one of them (Nizam?) would be joining him soon. He urged Chhabila Ram to start with all possible speed as time was fast running out. He himself had sent a large army with artillery under Biharidas, ignoring the rains, to go "that side" (?) via Malwa and to advance further on in co-operation with the Nizam, who too was coming with a well equipped army. When no reply came from Chhabila Ram, nor any news was heard of his advance towards Agra, the Maharana again exhorted him "to set out boldly for his destination without further delay or hesitation and earn a good name".⁴² There is no doubt that the Nizam was committed to co-operate with Jai Singh in opposing the Sayyids. This is not only proved by the Maharana's letter to Chhabila Ram but also from Jai Singh's letter of *Bhadon 4* (24th July or 8th August) 1719 to Biharidas mentioning that the Nizam-ul-Mulk was marching rapidly from Ujjain and Chhabila Ram was also coming and according to the account received from Agra, he had crossed at Kalpi.⁴³

The Sayyids were not unaware of Maharana's move. "Certain undesirable events had occurred at the instigation of the leading Zamindars of Malwa and with the assistance of Rajadhiraj (Jai Singh)", wrote Abdullah Khan to the Maharana. "I have striven according to my power and ability to the fulfilment of his demands and objectives and made the necessary efforts for the purpose. My earnest desire is that in position and trust, he should enjoy a status of equality with our kindred and companions. But as that ill-advised person had marched from Amber with the intention of facing the royal army, it is imperative to retort him and devastate his territory". Abdullah Khan expressed his reluctance to see Jai Singh's ancient family ruined and asked the Maharana that even now he might "save him from his erroneous claims and call him to your side and stop him from advancing any further. An enquiry in his demands may be made and if they are sent to us in writing, efforts will be made for their acceptance."⁴⁴ But the Maharana

was not impressed by this letter and continued to support Jai Singh whole-heartedly as before.

Abdullah Khan calls off campaign against Jai Singh

Meanwhile Sayyid Abdullah Khan, alongwith emperor Rafi-ud daula, had reached Kosi where, on Maharaja Ajit Singh's advice, it was decided not to march directly to Amber but to keep to the left and reach Fatehpur where Bakshi Dilawar Ali and Zafar Khan were already entrenched.⁴⁵ Though Ajit Singh claimed subsequently that he averted the campaign at Jai Singh's request⁴⁶, there is no doubt that Abdullah Khan himself was disinclined to proceed further as he wanted to be near Agra at the time of its capitulation; he feared his brother might not appropriate the entire wealth preserved in the fort. He therefore turned towards Kharaoili about 6 miles from Agra. There he learnt about the fall of Agra Fort on the 27th Ramzan (2nd August) and few days later (20th Shawwal) had a meeting with his brother.⁴⁷ The capitulation of Agra Fort was a serious set back to Jai Singh; so long as Nekusiyar's flag was flying at Agra, half of the Sayyid's strength was locked up there.

The projected campaign against Jai Singh was delayed by a few days owing to the death of emperor Rafi-ud daula (18th September) and the installation of prince Roshan Akhtar as emperor Muhammad Shah on 15th Zilqada, 1131.⁴⁸ After Muhammad Shah's enthronement it was announced that the new emperor would visit Ajmer to pay respects at the shrine of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti. The real motive however was to give Sawai Jai Singh a chance to make his submission; in case he did not do so, the army was to proceed against him.⁴⁹

Jai Singh conciliated

When the army was at Fatehpur Sikri, Maharaja Ajit Singh offered to meet Jai Singh on his way to Jodhpur. The meeting was fixed for 3rd Muharram at Kala Dhar. After the meeting Ajit Singh informed the Qutb-ul-Mulk that Jai Singh had "publicly expressed his desire to become his (Ajit Singh's) son-in-law". Welcoming the news, Abdullah Khan wrote to Ajit. "Your acceptance of the Raja's request which was in response to his desire as you have written, is in keeping with his present and future welfare. His fate has helped. God willing, his secret malice will be changed into goodwill. The date which has been fixed for the wedding is most auspicious and fortunate and the wedding certainly be celebrated at that auspicious moment."⁵⁰ According to Qasim, Jai Singh was given twenty lakhs of rupees for purchasing back Amber from the Brahmins upon whom he had bestowed it when setting out for Toda; to the public it was announced as a gift on the occasion

of his marriage with Maharaja Ajit Singh's daughter.⁵¹ Jai Singh also received *faujdari* of Sarkar Sorath and the Muslim nobles who had taken shelter with him were pardoned and allowed to stay at Amber.⁵²

On the whole, it was an honourable conclusion of the affair for Jai Singh and the best under the circumstances. Let down by the Nizam and Chhabila Ram and the resistance at Agra having fizzled out, Jai Singh had no other option but to come to terms with the Sayyids for the time being, and wait for a better opportunity to settle scores with them.

Maharaja Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur on 10th December 1719. In May 1720, Sawai Jai Singh accompanied with Rao Raja Budh Singh and the chief of Shivpuri, who after his expulsion at the hands of Bhim Singh of Kotah had joined Jai Singh, came to Jodhpur to marry Surva Kumari, the Rathore princess, whom he had betrothed on 26th July 1708. On the 19th May 1720, on the occasion of the unveiling of the bride's face at Amber, dresses and ornaments were presented to her.⁵³

Though the Sayyids were cautious in dealing with Sawai Jai Singh, they could afford to be harsh with Maharao Budh Singh of Bundi. Shortly after Budh Singh's departure from Bundi, they gave the Kotah ruler permission to annex Bundi. In February 1720, Bhim Singh with the help of an army of 15000 under Sayyid Dilawar Ali, the Bakshi of Hussain Ali Khan and Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar captured Bundi after some hard fighting.⁵⁴ After losing Bundi, Budh Singh tried his best to assist Girdhar Bahadur, who after the death of Chhabila Ram (August, 1719) was holding out Allahabad. After the arrival of Hada and Bundela forces, the strength of Girdhar Bahadur's troops increased to 20000.⁵⁵ But shortly afterwards the Sayyids conciliated Girdhar Bahadur by an offer of the governorship of Awadh and a gift of rupees thirty lakhs.⁵⁶ The successive reverses of the Sayyid's, their rapid downfall

Just at the time when all the opposition to the Sayyids seemed to have died down and their position appeared stronger than ever, a series of reverses precluded their ascendancy in no time. The details of their clash with the Nizam are not called for here. Contrary to their promise the Sayyids asked the Nizam to give up Malwa which they had granted him in March 1719. Realising that the Sayyids were bent upon ruining him, he crossed the Narbada (28th April, 1720) and gained possession of Asirgarh. Nizam's rebellion had now begun.⁵⁷

While Dilawar Ali Khan and his army, on receiving signal from Delhi, were crossing Chambal, Sayyid Abdulla Khan sent a letter to the Nizam denying all hostile intentions towards him.⁵⁸ At the same time, he sent urgent letters to Balaji Vishwanath, not knowing that he had died

on 2nd April, and to Chhatrapati Shahu seeking help for Alim Ali, Husain Ali's deputy in the Deccan, against the Nizam.⁵⁹

Shortly afterwards, on 9th June 1720, Dilawar Ali Khan and his splendid army was annihilated by the Nizam at Pandhar, about 36 miles from Burhanpur. This obliged the Sayyids to use soft tone with the Nizam. They also advised Alim Ali Khan to delay the decisive action till the arrival of Husain Ali. Husain Khan wrote to the Nizam that Dilawar Ali had been sent only to escort his family. "As he showed impudence of barring your path and proclaimed something else (about my orders), the Lord be praised, he had received what he deserved". He also informed the Nizam that the emperor was bestowing upon him (Nizam) the government of the Subahs of the Deccan.⁶⁰ A few days later (31st July) Sayyid Alim Ali, contrary to the Maratha advice to return to Aurangabad and to wait for Husain Ali's arrival, led his army against the Nizam at Balapur and suffered defeat and death.¹⁶

These withering blows forced the Sayyids to meet the Nizam's challenge with all their might. After much discussion it was decided that Husain Ali, along with the emperor should proceed against the Nizam while Abdullah Khan would remain at the capital. Husain Ali chose the longer route via Ajmer instead of going via Gwalior and Narwar so that he might reinforce his army by the Rajputs, specially the Rathors.⁶² But Ajit Singh was reluctant to accompany the Nawab to the Deccan and advised Abdullah Khan that the army should proceed by the straight road and reach the Narbada at the earliest. In reply Abdullah Khan pointed out that the Chambal was in flood. "Apart from this", he added, "it is necessary for my brother to meet a trustworthy friend like you in order to consult regarding certain matters". He asked Ajit Singh to reach Ajmer so that Husain Ali might not have to wait even for a day for him. At this critical time, Abdullah Khan wanted to make himself sure of Jai Singh's attitude also. "You should strive more than ever for reassuring and conciliating Rajadhiraj who is the pillar of the affairs of the State and of the Government and should certainly bring him with you (to Ajmer)" he wrote to Ajit Singh. "The suspicion and doubt that you formerly entertained about him were misplaced. Particularly now as he has become your son-in-law what further cause is there for concern. Because he is very much afflicted in his mind, you should not show any hesitation in reassuring him."⁶³ But as will be seen, Jai Singh had no mind to help the Sayyids or to be taken in by their friendly declamations at this time.

Sayyids Husain Ali along with the emperor and a number of important nobles started from Delhi on 2nd September 1720 and arrived at

Toda Bhim, about 60 miles east of Jaipur on the 28th September. Here at midday, he was assassinated in the full knowledge of the emperor. The leading conspirators included two future wazirs viz., Muhammad Amin Khan and his son Qamr-ud-dim Khan, and Haidar Quli Khan, all Turanis as well as Saadat Khan, a Persian; the hired assassin was Mir Haidar Beg Dughlat of Kashgar.⁶⁴

Jai Singh's activity after Husain Ali's assassination

After the feeble resistance offered by the disheartened supporters of Husain Ali had languished within hours of his assassination, firmans were despatched to Sawai Jai Singh, Raja Girdhar Bahadur, the Nizam, Abdus Samad Khan and others informing them about this development and urging them to come at the earliest.⁶⁵ When Maharana Sangram Singh came to know of Husain Ali's assassination, he asked Jai Singh as to "what our duty demands of us at this juncture". Jai Singh had already sent a letter to the Maharana informing him that he would be assisting the emperor against Abdulla Khan and advised the Maharana to do the same.⁶⁶ Jai Singh also wrote to the other Rajput rulers asking them to join the emperor with suitable force and in case they were unable to come personally, then to send their troops under some senior nobles.⁶⁷ But the Rajput rulers in general were disinclined to participate in the contest. The recent events had shown the mercurial loyalty of the Mughal nobility specially of man like Muhammad Amin Khan who was playing a leading role at this time. The Rajput rulers were also unacquainted with the character and the capacity of the new emperor. These factors weighed with Jai Singh also though to a lesser extent. In his letter of 28th October, the Maharana regretted that he could not send the troops on account of some internal problem. A few days later, he did despatch troops but by the time they reached Shahpura, Jai Singh's letter arrived informing him that the task had been accomplished and he might recall his men.⁶⁸ Maharaja Sujana Singh of Bikaner also failed to send any help to the emperor. He explained it by saying that he was ill and Maharaja Ajit Singh had crossed into his State.⁶⁹ Raja Indra Singh advanced the plea that the Marathas had entered Malwa and he had to be on duty against them. These were of course mere excuses.⁷⁰

After waiting in vain for the arrival of the Nizam and reinforcement from the Rajput State, emperor Muhammad Shah commenced his march to fight out the final round with Sayyid Abdullah Khan. He moved slowly, halting for a day or two at every stage vascillating all the time whether to proceed to Agra or Delhi. To keep up the morale of his men, he would ask 200 to 300 horsemen to separate quietly from the main army and to return taking a detour to give the impression that reinforcements were pouring in. Once when a Rajput force, which had been assigned this duty came galloping in at dusk the news was given out that Jai Singh's forces had arrived and that he too presently would be joining the

emperor.⁷¹ Meanwhile Muhammad Shah in his firman of 4th Muharram censured Jai Singh for his delay though the enemy had arrived at Sikri. He asked Jai Singh to join him at the earliest, in any case before the 6th Muharram (27th Oct., 1720) and added that he had ordered the army to halt and was waiting for his arrival.⁷² Shortly afterwards Jagram arrived from Amber with troops, three to four thousand horses, according to Khafi Khan and fifty thousand horses and a large number of foot according to Shivdas.⁷³ In any case, the number was much larger than what Khafi Khan gives. In the battle, Jagram himself was commanding a force of ten thousand. As for himself, Jai Singh wrote to the emperor that he was busy in collecting more troops and would be joining the royal army soon.⁷⁴ But he did not join the emperor as that would have involved him too deep in the affair whose outcome was by no means certain. He had learnt a bitter lesson in 1707. So he only sent military help to the emperor but did not participate in the battle personally.

The issue was decided in emperor's favour in a hotly contested battle near Hasanpur. According to Shivdas, Jagram was in the thick of the battle and not in the rear along with Nasratyar Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash etc. as described by some writers.⁷⁵ The Waqaya Paper of 10th November 1720 records "Foj Singh Kalyanot and other Rajputs of the army which was sent to Patshah Muhammad Shahji fought against the Sayyids, distinguished themselves, captured Abdullah Khan, achieved victory and won the Emperor's praise. As a mark of high favour, the Emperor gave them awards with his own hands, showed great kindness and gave them siropav etc."⁷⁶ The entry shows that the Amber troops had rendered good service to the emperor in the battle of Hasanpur. The warm and honourable welcome giving to Jai Singh after the battle also shows that his help during the conflict with Abdullah Khan was considered valuable by the emperor.

The news of Abdullah Khan's defeat and capture reached Jai Singh the same day.⁷⁷ Four days later, on Muhammad Amin Khan's complaint, the emperor mildly admonished Jai Singh for his failure to join him in time. At the same time he asked him to come to the court without delay for consultations on many problems of the State.⁷⁸ On 11th November when Jai Singh arrived in the vicinity of Delhi, the emperor asked Muhammad Amin Khan and his son Qamr-ud-din Khan to proceed to his camp at Khedrabad and welcome him. In the afternoon, he was cordially received by the emperor who conferred upon him many costly presents, an *ijafa* of 4000 sawars and offered two crores of dam in *inam*, which he politely declined.⁷⁹

The battle of Hasanpur finally wrung the curtain over the Sayyids era. During the early part of this period, the country witnessed initiation

of liberal policies but the tussle between the emperor and the Sayyids soon vitiated the entire atmosphere sapping the energy of the administration. The struggle ended with the Crown's prestige suffering a griveous blow. The period also witnessed the growing influence of the Rajputs and the Marathas in the affairs of the country and final abandonment of Aurangzib's policies some of which his successors had tried in vain to continue. The fate of the Sayyids also gave a lesson; it was that the historic position of the emperor could not be unceremoneously brushed aside and anyone doing that would be disturbing hornet's nest. Jai Singh's role in the tussle between the Crown and the Sayyid brothers was honourable throughout and aimed at preserving the due position of the emperor.

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45. K. K. p. 833; Qasim, 88a, b; Kamraj, 70a; Irvine, I, 428. Surajmal says (pp. 3075-76) that the Rathore nobles impressed upon jai Singh that Amber's destruction would not be in Marwar's interest.
46. Reu, Marwar, I, 316 fn, 7.
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49. Shivdas, f. 31b; Sayyid Abdullah Khan to Maharana, Balmukundnama, Letter No. 1.
50. Sayyid Abdullah Khan to Maharaja Ajit Singh, Balmukundnama, Letter No. 34.
51. Qasim, f. 93a.
52. Irvin, II, 4. The nobles included Ruhulla Khan III, Faujdar designate Ahmedabad, Tahavvar Khan & Sayyid Salabat Khan, brother-in-law of Farrukhsiyar and Commander of artillery.
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THE POLITICAL LEGACIES OF MAHARAJA BIJAY SINGH

KUMARI PADMAJA

Although Bijay Singh (1752-1793 A.D.) was destined to rule for a long period of 41 years, his reign was marked by the events of constant strife and struggle with his own kith and kin. In the beginning of his reign he had to fight against Ram Singh, his cousin to retain the throne of Marwar for himself. In this war of succession he had to fight against a powerful combination of the Marathas, the ruler of Jaipur and Ram Singh.¹ This coalition of the enemies of Bijay Singh also had the backing and support of some of the very powerful *sardars* of Marwar of whom the Thakurs of Pokaran, Ras, Asop, Niwaj were pre-eminent.²

The exit³ of Ram Singh in the year 1772 from the contest for the throne of Marwar did not bring any respite to Bijay Singh. The constant interference of the Marathas, their frequent inroads in the country,⁴ plunder and crushing burden of tributes⁵ imposed by them on unwilling Bijay Singh brought financial ruin of the State. The State treasury became empty, the *khalsa* lands remained uncultivated, trade and commerce received a great set back due to the disturbed conditions.

To this disorderly state the disaffection of the nobles and their predatory raids in the vicinity of the capital and the principal towns became a serious menace to the throne of Marwar.⁶ At this juncture the

fascination of Bijay Singh for Gulab Rai, a *paswani*, and her growing power and influence in the affairs of the State culminated a crisis for him. The self-willed *sardars* did not like her interference in the government of the State. Moreover, Bijay Singh's attempt to declare Man Singh as the heir of the throne on Gulab Rai's persuasion was the culminating point of discontent⁷ and led to an open revolt of the *sardars* who contrived to put Bhim Singh, son of Bhom Singh on the throne of Marwar for some time.⁸

Bijay Singh had several sons namely⁹, Fateh Singh, Bhom Singh, Zalim Singh, Sardar Singh, Guman Singh, Savant Singh and Sher Singh. Fateh Singh, the eldest died on the 8th Nov., 1777 without any issue. He adopted Bhim Singh, son of Bhom Singh, the second son of Bijay Singh. Bhom Singh, Sardar Singh and Guman Singh also died in the life-time of Bijay Singh. Zalim Singh the third son of Bijay Singh, claimed the throne because of his mother who was a princess of Marwar. He was given the jagir of Nawa and later on Godwad. Bijay Singh intended to make Zalim Singh his successor.¹⁰ This encouraged him to make a bid for the throne of Marwar. After the death¹¹ of Bijay Singh in 1793, Zalim Singh and Sher Singh, two sons of Bijay Singh and Bhim Singh and Man Singh grandsons of Bijay Singh survived him to forward their claims for the throne.¹²

Unfortunately, Bijay Singh could not finally settle the question of his heir in his life-time, perhaps he was deprived of his life-partner in the person of the *paswani*.¹³ There were such powerful pulls and counters pulls after her death that the question to rightful heir remained a matter of dispute until he survived.

Hence, when Bijay Singh died, the State faced economic and financial crisis. The *sardars* were divided into rival camps and had grown very powerful and defiant. The Maratha interference and their ravages had become too frequent and crushing. The rivalry between different claimants to the throne remained unresolved resulting in family feuds.¹⁴ The Marwar nobility stood divided into different camps, each supporting its own candidate.

The legacies, left by Bijay Singh for the posterity were: poverty, anarchy and factions of the different parties who were seeking selfish ends. Of course in 1803, Man Singh seized the throne of Marwar,¹⁵ but with no relief to the troubled kingdom, which subsequently had to enter into alliances with the British power.

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PATERNITY OF SURAJMAL JAT OF BHARATPUR

DR. RAM PANDE

Old age precluded Badan Singh to participate actively in the affairs of his State. He permitted his nephew Surajmal, to take up the organisational work, and retired to the towns of Sahar, Badanpura etc. In this interim period, he merely presided over his own created *Majlis-i-Kaum*.¹ He was increasingly incapacitated by the blindness and his nephew Surajmal now dominated almost all the affairs of the State.

There are different versions about Surajmal's paternity. Father Xavier Wendel says that Surajmal was not the son of Badan Singh nor did he share his blood in any way.² He was the lawful son of married woman 'Deoki'³ by her former husband. This story, described by Wendel, runs that one day this young lady with a male child in her lap, came to see her sister who was in the harem of Badan Singh. The Jat chief having a glance at her, became enamoured of her. She was said to be so beautiful that she soon rose to be his (Badan Singh's) first favourite and her child whose name was Surajmal displayed so much intelligence that he also got the first position among all other children of Badan Singh. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is also of the same opinion.⁴ Wendel goes on saying that Surajmal's outstanding genius and his deeds made it quite clear to all that he was

the fittest man to lead the rising Jat community, though he was not provided any type of education by Badan Singh. So Badan Singh adopted him as his son and successor with the approval of the elders of the clan, setting aside the offsprings of his body⁵, while Pratap Singh, the real eldest son of Badan Singh, who was most beloved to him, brought up and educated as successor to *gaddi*, was given the *Jagir* of Weir with a title of Raja.⁶

The poet and author of *Sujancharit* very definitely observed that Surajmal alias Sujan Singh was the son of Badan Singh⁷ when he links the ancestors of Badan Singh with the lineage of Shri Krishna. But, Sudan's saying cannot be established as a fact because Sudan was a *charan* and his composition is full of praise of his master without noticing a single defect in him.

Dr. K.R. Qanungo says that Surajmal was the son of Badan Singh and according to him Wendel wrote his account on the basis of a rumour.⁸ But Qanungo gives no authority for his assertion that Surajmal was the son of Badan Singh. On the other hand, Qanungo agrees that Wendel's account is generally reliable as he was one of the courtiers of Surajmal and Jawahar Singh and would not trace wrong parentage of the ruler.

According to a tradition prevailing in the form of a folk song, Surajmal is said to be the son of the 'Kayasth'.⁹ However, it is difficult to establish any historical basis of this tradition. We even disregard the second line which refers to Surajmal as being fair (*gora mukh*) while he is said to be dark complexioned by the historians.

Now the question arises who was Surajmal? Bhao Singh had three sons, Ajairam, Rupa or Rup Singh and Badna or Badan Singh. Ajairam died at the time of Jai Singh's first expedition against the Jats under Churaman¹⁰ and Rup Singh is mentioned in the *Balmukandnamah*¹¹ as *zamindar* along with his uncle Churaman. But we find no mention about him at the time of second expedition of Jai Singh against the Jats. Probably he could have died by the time. It may be presumed that 'Deoki' who visited the harem of Badan Singh, was the wife of Rupa Singh. It would have been perfectly logical and sensible for her to take shelter with Badan Singh after the death of her husband, Rup Singh. *Dharejna* or marrying elder or younger brother's wife is in practice among the Jats. This was the reason probably why Badan Singh married her. A further presumption of such a relationship is borne out by the fact that one of the four tanks of Deeg is dedicated to the name of Rup Singh as 'Rup Sagar'. There is thus a strong presumption that Surajmal was the son of Rup Singh, and thus a blood relationship of Badan Singh. Perhaps it was the reason that Surajmal was allowed to lead the campaigns and to expand the Jat State.

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THE MARATHA POLICY OF NORTHWARD EXPANSION AND
ROLE OF MEWAR

DR. K. S. GUPTA

Maratha advance into Malwa

By the end of the seventeenth century the decline of the Mughal power in India had set in. In the last twenty-five years of his life, Aurangzeb tried hard to subdue the Marathas, but he was not successful. Besides this, the Marathas started to raid the rich province of Malwa which was strategically important from the point of view of Maratha expansion. In the beginning the aim of the Marathas was to harass the emperor and divert his attention from his offensive activities in the south. But after his death, mutual rivalries in the Mughal court created confusion and chaos in the distant provinces and provided greater opportunity for the Maratha advance into Malwa. In 1711, Maratha sardar Ganga crossed Narbada and after exacting twenty-five thousand rupees from the people on the way, he reached as far as Ujjain.¹

This and successive advances of the Marathas into the imperial territory were serious not only for the Mughal emperor but also for the neighbouring States like Mewar. Malwa became a vital and sensitive point in the defence strategy of the Mughals and the survival of the empire and independence of Mewar were very largely dependent on effective and timely protection of this border province. Hence was felt the necessity of appointing there a Governor like Sawai Jai Singh who was considered a suitable vassal prince for dealing with the Marathas, both as a diplomat and a general. He testified his appointment by his

brave and vigorous resistance against and victory² over the huge Maratha army in May 1715.

Mewar asked to assist in checking the Maratha advance

Soon after the September 1715, Sawai Jai Singh was summoned to the court and was entrusted with the task of suppressing the Jats. For the next two years he remained completely engrossed in the Jat campaign and in his absence his naib looked after the administration of the province of Malwa. Sawai Jai Singh's prolonged absence from Malwa encouraged the Maratha to resume their raids into that province. As there was no strong Governor in Malwa at that time, letters were written from Delhi in October 1716 to the Maharana of Mewar to give military assistance to the deputy to check the Maratha advance. It was in the interest of Mewar also to prevent further expansion of the Marathas into the province which touched the boundary of Mewar, hence the Maharana too, readily responded by sending Bihari Das Pancholi, his minister with an appreciable force to participate in the campaign against Marathas.³

Mewar Minister obtains release of Sawai Jai Singh's Officers from the Marathas

Soon afterwards Dabhde entered Malwa and exacted *Chauth* from Astha, Deogarh and several other parganas, twenty-five thousand horses under Santa then rushed into the province and they captured Rup Ram Dhabai and Bhatt Himmat Rai, two prominent officers of Jai Singh. However, when the Marathas saw that great preparations against them were being made at Ujjain they withdrew. The officers, however, were not taken to Deccan because Mewar's minister Pancholi succeeded in securing their release.⁴ But the Maratha raids of the province shattered the prestige of the Mughals in Malwa. Sawai Jai Singh was then replaced by Muhammed Amin Khan.

When in 1720, Baji Rao became the Peshwa, systematic expansion towards north became the definite and declared policy of the Marathas. Their object was to plant Maratha flag from Krishna to Attack. They were encouraged by the declining power of the emperor and the chaotic conditions prevailing in the empire. Thereafter, raids into Malwa for collecting *Chauth* became a regular feature, and it seems, even the Nizam was prevailed upon to turn a blind eye to these Maratha advances into Malwa. Still any firm footing in Malwa could not be secured because of keen vigilance on the part of Girdhar Bahadur, the newly appointed Governor of Malwa (appointed on 13th June 1725).

Sahu sends his envoy to Udaipur

During this period, the Marathas instead of making raids into the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat were engaged in negotiating their right of realizing the *Chauth* from the two provinces. After the rains in the

year 1725, Sahu sent his envoy, Prabhu Jadu Rai, to Udaipur⁵ to persuade the Maharana to use his good offices in getting the Maratha right of collecting *Chauth*. Jadu Rai stayed at Udaipur for a long time, but the Maharana did not take any direct interest in the matter. He conveyed Sahu's request to Sawai Jai Singh so that he might use his influence at the Imperial court.⁶ At that time preparations to oust the Marathas from Malwa were afoot at Delhi. But Sawai Jai Singh suggested the Mughal emperor to confer an annual jagir worth ten lacs of rupees in each of the two provinces upon Raja Sahu in case he agreed to present himself in the court. It seems that Maharana Sangram Singh was also in full accord with Sawai Jai Singh. This was made known to the Maratha envoy at Udaipur and conveyed to Raja Sahu.⁷ Soon after this Jadu Rai left Mewar. Maharana ordered Munshi Sobha Ram of Mewar to accompany him.

The humiliation of the Nizam at the hands of Baji Rao at Palkhed in the year 1728 provided an opportunity to the latter for another onslaught on the Mughal dominion in the north. Baji Rao despatched his envoy, Dado Bhim Sen to obtain the views of Jai Singh about this expedition. Jai Singh supported the move and asked him not to waste a single moment.⁹ Baji Rao and Chimnaji led the forces, the former proceeding through Berar, Nagpur and the central provinces, and the latter through Khandesh. Movements were quick and on 29th November, 1728 encounter took place between Chinmaaji and Governor Girdhar Bahadur near Amjhara in which the latter lost his life and he was heartily congratulated by Baji Rao and other Maratha *Sardars*.¹⁰

Chimnaji sends elephants to the Maharana

Strangely enough this victory was celebrated by Chimnaji by sending one of the eighteen captured elephants to the Maharana as a present and as a mark of joy.¹¹ Two years earlier when the Marathas had made inroads into Mewar territory, the Maharana was bitter.¹² Obviously the Marathas were keen to win him over to their cause.

As soon as the news of Girdhar's death reached Delhi his cousin Bhawani Ram was installed in his place. The new Governor put brave resistance against the Marathas, but he was soon after replaced by Jai Singh, who adopted the policy of conciliation. As there was friendship between Jai Singh and the Marathas, Raja Sahu directed Chimnaji Ballal, Udaiji Pawar and Holkar that "in consideration of the old friendship existing with Jai Singh every attention should be shown to him and that in case he demands the surrender of Mandugarh, it should be made over to him without any hesitation"¹³ As a result of this a sum of ten lacs of rupees be paid annually to the Marathas in lieu of *Chauth* of that province, and in return Sahu's *Sardars* were to reside for service at the emperor's court. This was not acceptable to the emperor and Jai Singh was removed from the Governo rship.¹⁴

Mewar agrees to send her forces in Malwa

Again there was a change of Imperial Governor of Malwa and Jai Singh was brought back once again for the third time in October 1732 and was asked to maintain there a force of twenty four thousand cavalry and twenty four thousand infantry. In anticipation of his appointment as Governor of Malwa, Jai Singh entered into an agreement with the Maharana of Mewar that:—

1. Out of this total force, a force of nine thousand 'Sawar' and nine thousand 'Pyada' was to be contributed by Mewar and the remaining fifteen thousand 'Sawar' and fifteen thousand 'Pyada' by the Maharaja of Jaipur.
2. The revenue of the Suba from the land and the 'Peshkash' and income from other sources were to be divided between Mewar and Jaipur in the ratio of 1:2.
3. Dhabhai Nagraj was to remain with the Maharaja for seven months during the year 1732-33 and thereafter for six months every year.¹⁵

Soon after this agreement Sawai Jai Singh sent a *Parwana* to Dhabhai Nagraj informing him of his (Jai Singh's) appointment as the Governor of Malwa and asked him to reach Ujjain immediately after taking permission of the Maharana.¹⁶ Although Sawai Jai Singh was a lukewarm adherent of the emperor's Maratha policy yet this time he had no intention of coming to any agreement with the Maratha. On the contrary he had strict instructions to drive them out of Malwa.¹⁷ So in 1733, Holkar and Sindhia rushed into Malwa and surrounded Jai Singh who was encamped at Mandsaour, in order to prevent him from going against Chimnaji. Rajputs won over the Maratha *Sardars* Udaji and Krishnaji Pawar but they soon left them when rebuked for their unpatriotic act by Holkar. The Marathas inflicted a crushing defeat on Jai Singh at Mandsaour and the latter was compelled to agree to pay six lacs of rupees in cash and accepted their right to levying tribute and promised to cede twenty-eight parganas in lieu of *Chauth*.¹⁸

Policy of Conciliation

After the defeat of Sawai Jai Singh in the battle of Mandsaour almost entire province was lost to the Mughals. The Mughal officers at Ujjain were only in name. This created a very serious situation for the States of Rajasthan in general and Mewar in particular, so they decided upon immediate action. The Rajputs resorted to what is known as the policy of 'Dam and Sam' (Money and Conciliation). First the money was used as a means to oust the Marathas. It was used to

persuade them to evacuate the occupied territory in Malwa. A promise of five lakhs was made by Dhabhai Nagraj of Mewar on Feb. 27, 1733. A sum of three lakhs of rupees was paid on 17th March, 1733 as the price of evacuation of the Maratha forces from Malwa.¹⁹ The remaining two lacs of rupees were to be paid after one month. It was also stipulated that if any sort of loss or damage was hereafter caused in Malwa that amount would be deducted from the remaining sum of two lacs of rupees. This remaining sum was also paid²⁰ on May 4, 1733.

Even though the Marathas had received the full amount of the agreed sum, they were reluctant either to evacuate fully or not to disturb Malwa. Thus this attempt of the Rajput rulers misfired and money could not secure the desired result. When diplomacy and gold had failed to achieve the Maratha evacuation, the Rajput rulers were keen to decide their future course of action and therefore a conference under the presidentship of Maharana of Mewar was called at Hurda. This conference was significant as it afforded an opportunity for the meeting of all the important rulers of Rajasthan. After much deliberations, the plan to crush the Marathas from Malwa was chalked out.²¹ Thus for the first time since the battle of Khanwah in 1527 a Rajput confederation was formed under the leadership of Jagat Singh, the Maharana of Mewar. Once again Mewar led the united Rajputs, against the Marathas. But a significant difference was that this unity was achieved only on paper, not in practice. It proved to be a transitory phase and did not produce the desired result, because every Rajput ruler had his own ambitions which were usually in conflict with the common good and no one was willing to give up his own interests for anything vitally essential for the common cause. The Rajputs thus lost a splendid and rare opportunity of resisting encroachment on their lands by the Marathas.

Thus owing to lack of firmness on the part of Mewar and other Rajput rulers, and the vacillating policy pursued by the rulers then, Malwa was flung into full and complete domination of the Marathas, which proved harmful for Mewar.

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A NOTE ON THE GUNASARGRANTHA¹ BY AJIT SINGH

DR. G. N. SHARMA

The work under review was found by me in the Pustakprakash Library of Jodhpur in a manuscript form. It consists of 160 bound folios, each measuring 14"x 6", and containing about 24 lines of about 17 letters each. It is in a fairly good state of preservation, but too delicate for handling.

As regards orthography the following points need mention. The letters 't' and 'n', 'p' and 'y' are so similar in appearance that they are hardly distinguishable. Similarly, it is difficult to find a difference in 'ku', 'kra' and 'u'.

The language of the manuscript is Hindi, and the script *Nagari*. The entire work is in a metrical device composed mostly of *dohas*. The author seems to be very particular about the natural style, remote from the usual inflated language of the poets.

The manuscript as preserved in the Library is of immense value to the medieval historians both as an independent and corroborative source on the cultural history of Marwar in particular and Rajasthan in general. It must be confessed, however, that the *Gunasargrantha* is very unequal in its execution, some portion being composed in great detail, and others more compendiously. It is most copious in what concerns the Puranic tales and devotional verses.²

I propose here to give a brief survey of the contents of this *kavya*. It begins with invocatory verses dedicated to the gods and goddesses. The writer (Ajit Singh) then takes up the mythical accounts of the *Durgasaptashati*³ and tales from the *Bhagavata* like the *Kamsavadha*⁴ and the *Chiraharana*.⁵ It also includes prayers to Bhawani and Hingula Mahamaya.⁶ The account of the seasons and fortnights of months are graphic as preserved in the manuscript.⁷

The work is further interspersed with the contents of varied interest; for instance, the happy relations between husband and wife, the arrival of the husband from distant land, education of a son, dreams, superstitions etc.⁸ These notices to the common aspects of life are the most important parts of the work. The body of the work also abounds in the description of various kinds of drinks, town planning, festivals and the impact of the Mughals on them.⁹

Then follows the colophon of the manuscript which appears on the last folio. It states that it was composed by Maharaja Ajit Singh. It was completed on the 13th of the dark-half of *Phalguna*, V. S. 1769.¹⁰

The work which abounds in the various aspects of different nature evidently display Ajit Singh as a man of genius and observations. The great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining interest in literary pursuits¹¹ His writing about the Puranic lores, gods and goddesses reveals him as a king of undiminished faith. The work under review shows the settled nature of his life from about V. S. 1769 (1712 A. D.) when he was in the possession of Jodhpur and the neighbouring areas of Marwar.¹² It appears from this work that Ajit's mind, since then, was active in formulating plans of improvement of the town of Jodhpur, as well as introducing new schemes of consolidating programme like rehabilitation, education, agricultural facilities etc. This is attested from the account of Ajit's reign, well preserved in the *Ajitodaya*.¹³

The work also reveals that Ajit Singh also compiled his composition from the writings of Vyas, and others, which he regularly repeated at the time of his daily prayer. The *Sarvanga Raksha*¹⁴ and *Bhawani Sahastranama*¹⁵ are some of the typical examples that have been included within his composition. The author is equally credulous in recording the miracles of Shumbha and Nishumbha, the counterparts of his enemies he had to encounter in his life.¹⁵ In the description of *Avataras*, the lives and powers of god and goddesses have been recorded with implicit faith.¹⁶

The opening lines and the concluding part of the manuscript are:—

“महाराजा श्री अजीतसिंहजी कृत गुणसार ग्रन्थ लिख्यते” (F. 1)

“संवत् १७६९ वर्षे फागुणवदि त्रयोदशी दिने गुणसार ग्रन्थ श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री अजीतसिंहजी कृत गुणसार ग्रन्थ संपूर्णम्” (F. 160)

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RAGHUNATH RAO'S TWO LETTERS TO KOTAH

DR. BENI GUPTA

Two important letters of Gulgule Daftar of Kotah dated the 13th December, 1774 and 14th December, 1774 throw an interesting light on the relations between the Kotah State and the Marathas and also on the conditions obtaining in the Peshwa's house. These letters were written to the Maharao of Kotah Umed Singh, the *dejure* ruler and to Jhala Zalim Singh, the *defacto* ruler and the regent of the State. Maharao Umed Singh was then 16 years of age. His dying father Maharao Guman Singh had entrusted him in 1769 to the care of Raj Rana Zalim Singh, then a very powerful *Faujdar* of Kotah. The Raj Rana was doubtless the cleverest and the most powerful diplomat in Rajasthan at that time.

The letter addressed to the Maharao reads as follows:

लेखांक (१४)

श्री संवत् १८३१ मार्गशीर्ष शुद्ध ११

श्रीमाहाराजांधीराज श्रीमाहाराजा श्रीमाहाराव उमेदमिघजी ज्योग्ये श्री मुख्ये प्रधान श्री रघुनाथ बाजोराव के आसिर्दाद वाचनै. इहाके समाचार भला छै. आपुका सदा भला चाहीजे. आप्रंच बहतदीन पात्ती समाचार नाही पाए है सो लीषजोजी. आप्र इहाकी हकीकती बिदीवार श्रीराजराणे जालमसीघजी को लीषी है. सो जान के आपुको लायक सो करना. आपु आदी राजा छी. था की शूरता बड़ी छै ती उपर थाकी बडाई जानकर करोगे. मीती आगहन शुदी ११ संवत १८३१. विसेख क्या लिषिये.

श्रीमहाराजाधीराज श्रीमहाराज (श्री) महाराव उमेदसीधजी जोगये

श्रीमंत रघु नाथराव

लेखांक (१५)

श्री संवत् १८३१ मार्गशीर्ष शुद्ध १२

सीधश्री सर्वउपमालायक श्रीराजराणे जालमसीधजी ज्योगये श्रीमुख्ये प्रधान रघुनाथ बाजीराव के आसीर्वाद वंचना. ईहाके समाचार मला छै. उठा का मला चाहीजे जी. आप्रंच सीरकार कारवारीने फतूर करो. उनी पातीर तुकुजी हुलकर वा माहादजी सीधीया उनांकु लेकर दक्षन गये. तीन उपरी सीधीया की अंतः करण में संपूर्ण रूप उठा. की जाणी आपु (इ) काईक तुकोजी की भी उठा. (उ) की (या) रूप देपी. ती उपरी म्हाने हीदोस्थानकु कुचकीयो. अवी याकी तरफ आवां छा. कोटा को आदीराजा छो याकी शूरता बडी लोक मे प्रसिद्ध छै. सीरकार पर यो समया विरीत (प) डयो छै. ती उपरी वड़ाई जाणी करोगे. दर कुच कोटाकु पुहुचत है. मीती आगहन शुदी १२ सवत् १८३१. बिसेख क्या लिपिये ।

सीधश्री सर्वउपमालायक श्रीराजराणे जालमसीधजी जोगय

श्रीमत् रघुनाथ राव

The following is the free English rendering of the first letter :—

Marg Shirsh Sudha 11 V.S. 1831. After blessings to Shri Maharajadhiraj Shri Maharaj Shri Maharao Umed Singhji Shri Mukhya Pradhan (Peshwa) Raghunath Baji Rao says that everything is all right here. We always wish the same for you. No letter has been received from you for a long time. So please do write. I have written every thing to Raj Rana Zalim Singh. You will know from him and after that kindly do what you think proper. You are a Raja of glorious past, your bravery is well known. I trust you will do what conforms to your name and fame.

Nothing more to be written.

Raghunathrao—

The second letter addressed to Zalim Singh may be freely translated in English as below.

Marg Shirsh Sgdha 2 V.S. 1831.

To Raj Rana Zalim Singh worthy of all compliments, blessings from Shri Mukhya Pradhan (Peshwa) Shri Raghunath Baji Rao. Every thing is allright here. Wish you all happiness. Some disturbances have been created in the State by the Ministers of the Government. Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia had led them to the Deccan. Then I do not know why Tukoji felt angry in his heart and Sindhia also felt

similarly angered. But in view of their attitude, I have decided to march to the North and am now proceeding towards your State. You are an old Regent of Kotah. Your bravery is famous in the world. Our Government is facing a trouble these days. I trust you will do what accords with your name and fame. By forced marches I am reaching Kotah.

Nothing more to be written.

Raghunath Rao—

These letters were necessitated by the domestic situation which arose in Maharashtra in 1772 and developed during the next two years in the family of the Peshwa. Both the letters were written in the Hadauti dialect, widely spoken in Kotah, Bundi and Jhalawar. It is obvious that the Peshwas liked and preferred to write in Hadauti whenever they had to address personal letters to the ruler or the Regent of Kotah. The language of these letters is not grammatical Hadauti and were written most probably by some Maratha Secretary in Peshwa's Court, who had acquired some working knowledge of this dialect but was not well conversant with it.

The letters were written by Raghunath Rao to enlist military support of the State of Kotah against his opponents.

Peshwa Madhav Rao aged 28, died on 18th November, 1772 leaving no issue and therefore his uncle, Raghunath Rao, wanted to seize power and ascend the throne. He thought that he was the rightful claimant to the Peshwaship. But his ambitious designs were set aside by Nana Fadnavis and the Ministers who supported the claim of Narayan Rao, brother of the deceased Peshwa and installed him on the *gadi*. Raghunath made no open and noisy protest at the time of the enthronement, because Narayan Rao's claim was stronger and carried popular opinion. But the bitterness of Raghunath's frustrated ambition continued to rankle in his heart. All of a sudden, just after a month, Narayan Rao was found assassinated in highly suspicious circumstances. Raghunath Rao now occupied the Peshwa's throne. There was a strong popular demand for an enquiry into the cause of murder. The Chief Justice Rama Shastri appointed to head the enquiry, examined many witnesses and delivered a judgement holding Raghunath Rao responsible for the murder. This caused great popular unrest. The Ministers thought that they were not safe. Then Ganga Bai, the widow of the murdered Peshwa, declared that she was pregnant. This news gave a good handle to the Ministers and *Sardars*. Sakha Ram Bapu, Nana Fadnavis, Parashuram Patwardhan and Hari Pant Furkare led her to the fort of Purandhar and kept her there strictly guarded by trust-worthy persons. Then they decided to dethrone Raghunath Rao and to throne the child to be born. They conspired that in case a girl was born she should be replaced by a male child. With this purpose, several ladies in the family way were kept in the fort along with Ganga Bai.

Fortunately a male child was born to Ganga Bai on 18th April, 1774. After 40 days he was declared Peshwa at Purandhar and Raghunath Rao was forced to abdicate in his favour. He fled to Burhanpur and began to prepare for an armed conflict. Then he conspired with the Nizam Ali of Hyderabad and proceeded to Indore to obtain support of Holkar and Sindhia. At first they agreed to lend support but soon after they withdrew and returned to their capitals. Raghunath Rao, finding himself isolated, began to negotiate with the British East India Company. Simultaneously these two letters were written to the Maharao and the Regent with whom the relations of the Marathas were quite friendly.

It seems that Zalim Singh sat on the fence and watched the progress of Raghunath's negotiations with the East India Company. Even if the negotiations had not materialised into a treaty between Raghunath Rao and the Company, Zalim Singh was too foresighted a diplomat to espouse the cause of a disgruntled claimant and risk a conflict with Nana Fadanavis, Sindhia and Holkar, which would have spelt his ruin.

THE ARZEE BAHIS AS SOURCE MATERIAL OF THE RAJPUT-MARATHA RELATIONS

DR. G.R. PARIHAR

A vast material, hitherto unknown to the Marathas and other scholars, lying untapped in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, needs a deep study. I shall refer here Arzee Bahis as they are very important source material throwing considerable light on the Rajput—Maratha relations.

The Arzee Bahis are seven in number. The Bahi number one and two, corresponding to the period from V.S. 1824 to 1842 (1767–1785 A.D.) and V.S. 1873–1874 (1816–1817 A.D.) contain copies of the original letters written by Gosains to Maharaja Bijay Singh and to Maharaja Kumar Chhatra Singh respectively. The third Bahi, which covers the period from V.S. 1860 to 1921 (1803 to 1864 A.D.) contains letters from Gosains to the rulers of Jodhpur and other officials. The number four and five Bahis deal with the correspondence carried on with the Marathas from V.S. 1811 to 1900 (1754–1843 A.D.). The last two Bahis record the copies of the letters sent by *Mutssaddis*, *Sardars*, *Umraos*, *Ranis* and *Paradayats* etc to the rulers and their replies. They cover a period from V.S. 1913 to 1974 (1856–1917 A.D.).

To a student of Rajput—Maratha history the Bahis bearing number four and five, are of a great interest. These Bahis contain the copies of the State letters sent by the rulers and administrators to the Maratha generals

and administrators like Mahadaji, Daulat Rao, Tukoji Holkar, Anand Rao Bable, Aba Chilnis, Rane Khan, Ambaji Inglia, Lakhwa Dada etc. The period covered by the letters in these Bahis run from 1754 to 1843 A.D. and the total number of letters are 700 in 474 leaves. The script is Rajasthani as spoken and written in Marwar.

The letters have not been copied chronologically. What the copyists had done was to reserve pages for the Maratha generals and all the letters sent to them had been written in the reserved pages chronologically. Thus if a page is reserved for Mahadaji Sindhia, the letters sent to him have been copied in that page onwards.

The Bahi number four contains 301 leaves. However, the letters sent to Marathas have been copied upto 168th leaf only. In rest of the leafs (from 169 to 301) there are letters sent to the rulers of different States of Rajasthan and to the officials of the state. This Bahi covers a period of 49 years (from 1754 to 1803 A.D.) roughly from the beginning of the Jayappa Sindhia's second invasion on Marwar to the death of Maharaja Bhim Singh. It opens with the letter to Tukoji Holkar. It is dated 3rd day of the dark-half of Ashodha V.S. 1824 (June 15, 1767). Maharaja Bijay Singh had conveyed his personal message of friendship and mutual help through one Aniaji who happened to cross the Marwar territory having raided the Jaipur State. The earliest dated letter recorded in the Bahi concerned with the Bohras of Nandwana (Nagor Distt.) who were asked to advance loans to the States at the time of the Maratha seige² of the fort in 1754. The last letter in the Bahi concerning Marathas addressed to one Pandit Laxman Rao on 4th day of the bright—half of Margshirsha V.S. 1858 (6th February, 1802 A.D.) written by Singhvi Meghraj conveying him some message through Upadhyaya Ratan Chand and Dandhal Udai Ram ³

The Bahi number starts with a noting on the death of Maharaja Bhim Singh on 4th day of the bright-half of Kartika V.S. 1860 (19th October, 1803)⁴ and information sent to all concerned regarding the accession of Man Singh. The very first letter sent to Daulat Rao Sindhia on the 13th day of the dark-half of Phalguna V.S. 1860 (9th February, 1804 A D) by Man Singh welcomes the Anglo—Sindhia treaty of 1803 at that time. Man Singh further sounded the Sindhia about his attitude and policy to be pursued in the Anglo—Holkar struggle.⁵

The Bahi contains 173 leaves wholly dealing with the Maratha affairs from 1803 to 1843. The last letter preserved in it is addressed to one Pandit Paras Ram, a Marathi Scholar, on 6th day of the bright-half of Magha V.S. 1879 (19th December, 1822) extending State patronage in him for his literary merits.⁶

From the point of view of political relations between Rajputs in general and Rathors in particular, these Bahis are exclusively important. The movements of the Marathi generals and diplomats, the visits of the Maratha leaders to the State capitals and the policies pursued by the rulers in relation to the Marathas and vice versa, are so vividly described that many gaps in the study of history of India in general and Rajasthan in particular can be filled up. The occupation of Godwad by Bijay Singh with the help of Mahadaji's arms is referred in a series of letters addressed by the Maharaja to the Maratha leader from 1770 to 1772. Similarly details of the correspondence of Post-Merta battle peace negotiations from September 1790 to January 1791 among the Rathors, Khachhwahas, Marathas and Ismail Beg reveal how difficult it was for Mahadaji to force a treaty on his terms on a defeated Rajput ruler.⁸ A critical study of Man Singh's role in Anglo-Maratha wars (1803-1804)⁹ and the role of Marathas in the Krishna Kumari episode (1805-1810)¹⁰ is available from the letters in Bahi number five.

The Bahis are also helpful to those who take up socio-economic study of Rajasthan during the 18th and early 19th Century. "The Rajput-Maratha trade relations, the assignment of Jagirs to the Marathas in lieu of the tribute, imposition of taxes, the condition of agriculture, the famines etc. can be known through the letters of these Bahis."¹¹ In Marwar Bijayshahi coins were prevalent. The Marathas used Brindbani coins. The ratio of the two currency was 1 : 1.29 as revealed in a letter from Sadashive to Mehta Akhay Chand dated 9th day of the bright-half of Jyestha V.S. 1862 (May 27, 1806).¹²

The Bahis also throw light on social and religious conditions. The festivals like Raksha Bandhan, Dashera, Diwali and exchange of presents on the occasion of the marriage ceremonies of both the Rajput rulers and the Marathas are described in some of the letters.¹ The Maratha leaders undertook to protect and paid respect to the deities of the Rajput rulers whatever have been their political differences.¹⁴

One important reference in the letter sent by Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated 14th day of the dark-half of Pausa V.S. 1844 (7th January 1788), is that for the first time the word 'Rajasthan' was used for the Rajput States by Bijay Singh in 1788, hitherto erroneously credited to Col. Tod.¹⁵

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WHETHER THE RULERS OF RAJASTHAN WERE ZAMIDARS ?

DR. G. N. SHARMA

It has been a fashion on the part of some modern writers to use the term *Zamidar* loosely for all the ruling chiefs of Rajasthan, who had recognised Mughal paramountcy. The main arguments that have been advanced, in support of this assumption are that the princes of Rajasthan were the tribute payers of the Mughals, and were the holders of *Jagirs* granted by the Mughal Emperors. This status, according to them, presupposed their subordinate position in the Mughal Order.

A detailed study of the problems leads us to the conclusion that the Rajput Chiefship seems scarcely to have subordinated itself to the Muslim authority in political sense. The early Muslim invaders, after defeating their adversaries, were never sure of their subordination, though they had offered submission and made firm the condition of the usages of service. The writer¹ of the *Taz-ul-Maasir*¹ uses, invariably, the term 'Rai' for such chiefs. As a result of the capitulation of the forts of Jhain, Ranthambhor and Siwana the historian of Alauddin Khalji recognises the position of the local Rais and Rajas, despite the fact that new cities of the people of faith arose in their place.² Babur also recognised the local political functions³ of Vikramjit (Vikramaditya), the son and successor of Rana Sanga, who had suffered defeat at his hand. In brief, these conquerors were content with their victory, while the Rai and Rajas were left to themselves.

With the coming of Akbar a new attitude developed between the emperor and the Rajput Chiefs. Akbar, cautiously enough, left these chiefs free to enjoy their internal authority. The princes of Rajasthan, on their part, agreed to pay tribute and supply a local force. The only state where the Mughals restrained from exercising greater control was Mewar. The emperor acknowledged their hereditary position and titles as the Raja, Rai, Maharaja etc.⁴ Man Singh was known as Mirza Raja and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand*.⁵

Jahangir who followed the policy of his father informs us that the Rajas (of Rajasthan) enjoyed sole authority over their internal administration.⁶ Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and his successors also reckoned and recognized their traditional status and power. They have never addressed them as *Zamidars* in their official capacity. In a *Farman*⁷ Salim addressed Rai Singh (Bikaner) as a Raja who was "the choicest of the Grandees of the stable Empire". In another *Farman*⁸ from the Emperor Jahangir, dated the 6th *Mehar* Raja Sur Singh has been called "the cream of his peers and pride of his Brothers". In the same *Farman* he has conveyed the greetings of *Ram Ram*. Similarly, Shah Jahan, has addressed Raja Sur Singh, in one *Farman*⁹, as "Pride of his Equals".

Similarly, the author of the *Masir-ul-Umara*¹⁰ has acclaimed the worth of Jaswant Singh by regarding him "the head of the Rajas of India". In one of the *Farmans*¹¹, dated the 24th *Jamadi-us-Sani*, Maharaja Gaj Singh has been praised as the best of the Rajas of Hindustan. His name has been associated with the title of Maharaja Dhiraj Maharaja Gaj Singh Bahadur. These examples are sufficient proofs to show that the princes of Rajasthan continued to enjoy trusted position and rendered faithful and valuable services to the Mughals. The emperors never failed to confer on them titles and honours befitting their dignity and status.

Of course, there are references in the works of the imperial chroniclers, where some of the princes of Rajasthan have been termed as *Zamidars*. Abul Fazl refers to the *Zamidar* of Dungarpur who wished to send his daughter to Akbar's harem, is a case in point.¹² The conception of the official historian, in such matters, was usually guided by the notion that "The whole country, with the exception of the *khalsa* lands, was held by the *Amirs* as *Jagir*". Hence, if anything was noted regarding them in an official record, the Rajas and Rai's were termed as *Zamidars*.

But in fact we know that the whole country, as stated by Abul Fazl, was not under the Mughal nobility. The friendly Rajas of Rajasthan were the masters of their patrimony over which the Mughal Govt. had no control. Within their region they were free to act in a manner they liked. In Judicial and Civil administration their powers remained unchallenged. Views such as those of Abul Fazl, therefore, on the term, '*Zamidar*', in the context of Rajput rulers, are subject to a correct interpretation and scientific analysis.

The confusion, as far as I believe, arose out of the double responsibilities these Rajas had to share. They were the hereditary owners of their kingdoms, and at the same time they were the rank holders or *Mansabdars* in the military set up of the Mughals. As for the Mughal services, which they were required to discharge, they received *Jagirs* in the *Sarkars* of different Subas instead. Sometimes these *Jagirs* were confiscated and again restored with the exception of some *Sarkars* or

Parganahs. There are several instances of such awards, restorations, reductions of *Jagirs* during the course of the relations of the Rajput princes and the Mughals. To Udai Singh, better known as Mota Raja, all his possessions were restored to him with the exception of Ajmer, and by way of compensation he received several districts in *Jagir* in Malwa.¹³ Maharaja Rai Singh of Bikaner received several *Parganahs* in *Jagir* in *Subah* Ajmer, *Sarkar* Hissar, *Sarkar* Multan and *Sarkar* Surat in the year 1599.¹⁴ These rulers were occupying two positions, one as rulers of their states and other as military assignees. As military assignees they were at liberty to quit their posts, but as masters of their dominions their position remained unshaken. In fact, there was no parallelism between the *Jagirs* in lieu of Mughal service and the landed property in their principalities. Strictly speaking there was no legal connection between the two status. They were overlords for their subjects, they may be *Zamidars* for their military employees. At any time, the military rank could be given up without losing their ancestral holdings. The events following the death of Jagat Singh (Mewar) and Jaswant Singh (Marwar) brought about repures of significant nature, well known in the annals of Rajasthan.¹⁵ Both Jagat Singh and Jaswant Singh rose to the position of trust under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, but their sons changed their allegiance. This kind of complete autonomy enjoyed by the rulers of Rajasthan explains the inadequacy of the title of *Zamidars* used for them.

Moreover, to categorise the hereditary chiefs of Rajasthan as *Zamidars* does not help us to determine their intrinsic importance and status. If at all there could be any category it could be governed by the degree of internal autonomy enjoyed by these rulers. For instance Mewar was exempted from the obligatory attendance at the court and submission of the *dola*.¹⁶ She maintained the greatest degree of independence, as the contemporary writers admit.¹⁷ They openly showed defiance on several occasions and did not pay regular tribute. Harauti seems to have enjoyed more independent and honourable terms than the other States except Mewar.¹⁸ In both these cases the control of the Mughal authority was not short of a nominal allegiance. The other states like Amber, Jodhpur, Bikaner, etc. had to bear the burden of furnishing a fixed quota of men and money and undertake the obligation of personal service and regular attendance at the court. This kind of clear variation in the conditions, binding them to subordination, at least, leads us to think about the letter and spirit of the term *Zamidar*, applied indiscriminately for all the princes of Rajasthan. If we are not prepared to discriminate between the two sets of states, we ignore the importance of the heroic resistance offered by some and wisdom of speedy submission to authority showed by the others.

Unfortunately, the term *Zamidar* has also been used loosely for the *Omrahs* of high and low status. Mr. Moreland is correct to analyse the

later Mughal nobility in these words: "What we see is a royal household full of slaves, who could rise, by merit or favour, from servile duties to the charge of a province, or even of a kingdom—essentially a bureaucracy of the normal Asiatic type."¹⁹ What Mr. Moreland has said was noticed by Bernier²⁰ also regarding the nobility of Aurangzeb's time. He said, "The *Omrals* mostly consist of adventurers from different nations, who entice one another to the court, and generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education". We know for certain from the account of Shah Nawaz-Khan²¹ that the *Zamidars* belonged to all classes, high and low. If the nature of the nobility was similar to what Bernier has made us believe, it would be not fair on our part to class the so-called Rajput *Zamidars* with such a depraved rank-holders.

In Rajasthan and elsewhere, the term *Zamidar* began to be used for all the prosperous cultivators who tilled the soil and *shahukars* who had dealings in land mortgaging. Hence to identify *Zamidars* with the chiefs of Rajasthan is beyond our imagination. If the title of *Zamidar* would have been meant for the chiefs the commoners or subjects of the states could never have dared to use it so cheaply for all. In the *khatunis* and *pattas* of Bikaner, Udaipur and Jodhpur, I had come across several names of cultivators and *shahukars* whose landed property has been termed as *Zamidara*. Thus the two important tendencies at work towards *Zamidari* make the title of *Zamidar* untenable.

Using the term *Zamidar*, then, in the sense of the complete subordination and inferior position of the rulers of Rajasthan, as emphasised by some writers of our own times, we have to conclude that neither the Rajasthan States were within the orbit of *Zamidari* nor the Mughal rulers had any intention to use the term in the sense some of us understand it. Hence the idea of applying the terminology of *Zamidar* to the Rajasthan chiefship is unscientific.

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THE MUGHAL-MARATHA TREATY OF 1752 AND ITS IMPACT ON RAJASTHAN

(Summary)

DR. DHARMA BHANU SRIVASTAVA

This paper narrates the circumstances which led to the conclusion of the Mughal-Maratha Treaty of April 1752. This treaty made the Marathas a strong power in Northern India and gave rise to many new problems and complications in the Indian politics : the Rajput-Maratha conflict in Rajasthan, the Jat-Maratha conflict in Central India and the Afghan-Maratha conflict in the Punjab. In fact the treaty which was the main source of Maratha legal footing in the North became eventually responsible for their notoriety and their final tragic fall at the hands of a foreign invader in 1761.

ROLE OF KOTAH MAHARAO DURJANSAL IN THE ACCESSION OF UMED SINGH ON THE BUNDI THRONE

(Summary)

S. C. MISHRA

Almost all the veteran historians have been unanimous in holding that the role of Kotah Maharao Durjansal has been primarily if not purely humanitarian in getting Umed Singh installed on the Bundi throne. Some fresh material that has become available to me casts some shadow on this aspect of Durjansal's role.

SAWAI JAI SINGH'S STRUGGLE FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE KACHHAWA STATE OF AMBER DURING THE REIGN OF BAHADUR SHAH

(Summary)

A. R. KHAN

The credit for the expansion and consolidation of the Kachhawa state goes to Sawai Jai Singh. In this paper an attempt has been made to work out the parganas added by Sawai Jai Singh to his hereditary domain and highlight the manner in which he expanded his territory. Moreover, it has also been pointed out that the area controlled by Sawai Jai Singh did not constitute a part of his *watan* or hereditary domain but was held by him on different tenures, i.e., *ijara*, *inam* and *zamindari*.

MALBA CESS IN VARIOUS STATES OF RAJPUTANA WITH A
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TONK STATE
(1800-1900 A. D.)

K. L. MOD

Malba, a cess, had been a legacy of the medieval period. In Akbar's time, *abwab* of certain nomenclatures were collected, one of which was termed *Kharj-i-deh*¹ or the village expenses, which may be favourably compared with *Malba* of the later period.

Malba was not a single cess as is evident from the study of the records of the erstwhile State of Tonk,² but a conglomeration of a number of cesses, called by various names, viz., *Mal baptee*, *Ghassdana*, *Sutar lohar*, *Parna*, *Ziasat*, *Pooranpatri*, *Dudha Dohi*, *Naik Palki*, *Bhent Raiji*, *Bhent Diwan Mutsaddi*, *Dharamada*, *Gaddi Bhent*, *Phag Holi*, *Akara*, *Khata khorak*, *Khat rori*, *Lagan chaori*, *Siwai Baptee*, *Teli khoont*, *chamari patta*, *Gadar Tola*, *Char jhompri* and *Oogahi*, *Dalali*, *Geru khan*, *Kacha Nadi*, *Kudal pharora*—all in Nimbahera district of the State. Similarly, in other districts of the Tonk State, various cesses were collected on the same pattern and the amount collected under the above mentioned heads at various rates was reckoned as an amount to be credited to *Malba* account.³ These various cesses inclusive of *Bhents* were imposed by the medieval rulers of this part, but they were however continued as a tradition by the Nawabs of Tonk.⁴ As described elsewhere, in Alwar State also *Malba* was not a single cess but a fund which fostered due to income from other cesses when put together. We find the mention of *Malba* in Marwar-Malani and Sirohi States also.

Method of collection and incidence

Malba was collected in proportion to a certain percentage of the land revenue, generally 5%. Formerly it varied from 15 to 4 per cent. of the land revenue,⁵ as per the exigencies of the time. In Rajputana of the 19th century, some of the States, specially Alwar, Bikaner, Bundi and Tonk States regularly collected *Malba*. Tod, while narrating the revenue of the Bikaner State in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,⁷ mentions *Malba* as the original tax which the Jat Communities imposed upon themselves when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Bika and his successors. He mentions that Maharaja Surat Singh used to realise Rs. 50,000 per year in the name of *Malba* which was charged at the rate of "two rupees on each hundred bighas of land cultivated in Bikaner".⁸

It was collected along with the land revenue and by the same agency viz., Patwari or Patel. Some States used to realise land revenue in two instalments but some in three and some in four.⁹ The Tonk and the Alwar States collected revenue in four instalments. As revenue in some States was realised in kind and in others in cash, *Malba* was also realised accordingly. Where the system of collection of land revenue was based

on *latai* and *batai*, it was collected in kind, and elsewhere in cash. We come across references of remission of land revenue in some of the States of Rajputana due to famine or scarcity. *Malba* was also remitted to some extent by the orders of the rulers.

For want of detailed accounts, we can not know the exact amount of *Malba* collected in various villages of a particular State. But however on the basis of stray references occurring in the various reports on Land Settlement and Administration of Tonk State we certainly know that *Malba* was charged from $\frac{1}{2}$ anna to 2 annas per rupee collected as revenue i. e., if reduced it comes to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the land revenue. This is not a meagre amount when we take into account a village as a unit.

We have an idea of the actual amount¹⁰ of *Malba* for one district (Pirawa) of the erstwhile Tonk State as Rs. 19,123 in the year 1867-68. In want of the exact number of souls inhabiting the town of Pirawa, we can roughly say that 34,300 souls (including Pirawa town) paid Rs. 19,123 per year i. e., Re. 1, annas 12, pies 9 per year. This amount should not be regarded as a small sum seeing the average income of the cultivator of those days and besides this cess, he had to pay other *siwais* and imposts.

Purposes for which the cess was collected

It was realised to meet out the expenses on the following¹¹ - *Bhent Amla* or *Nazim*, *Bhent sigahdars*, *havildars* of villages, to patwari for stationery, *kharach Khorak* to *manotidars*, *teohar kharach* (expenses on festival for *mandirs* and *masjids*, subsistence allowance to patels when employed on State duty, *Dastakane* (or expenses to the Summon bearer), *Khairat* (alms), lighting the panchayat house etc.

Malba was collected for meeting the village expenses i. e, the expenses of the services of the revenue officials viz., Patel and Patwari. Any revenue officer on official tour visited a particular village, the villagers used to receive him and the expenditure incurred in arranging his boarding and lodging was met from the village common fund constituting the amount of *Malba*.

On social occasions such as festivals like Holi and Diwali which the villagers celebrated collectively, the expenses incurred in lighting etc. were defrayed from the village common fund. In fairs, whatever expenditure was there, it was paid out of the village fund. On death of the patel of a village, the patels of neighbouring villages used to send *pugree* and *dupatta* for the successor of the deceased. The expenses for this eventuality were to be met out of the *Malba*.

The village-folk were entertained by the *nats* and *bhats*. For these services they were paid out of the common fund.

Every village nearly possessed a temple or a mosque or both. Throughout the year, there were many festivals, which entailed expenditure to be debited to the village fund.

For the water arrangements for cattle (*khel bharai*), for village school and dispensary, if any, this fund was utilized—a philanthropic use.

All the expenses incurred in providing *kafan* or burial or cremational ceremony of destitutes were to be defrayed from this fund:

In Alwar State, bank besides some of the items mentioned above, the itinerant acrobats and conjurers (*nats* and *kanjars*) were paid out of this fund.¹² One important item of expenditure of this fund was marriage and funeral gifts to members of the community, both proprietors and village servants¹³. The expenditure in the maintenance of *thana* (or building used as the village assembly house and resting place) was also charged from this fund.¹⁴ Besides, the village servants carpenters, washermen, blacksmiths and scavengers— were all paid in kind by “ a maund or two of grain per harvest on each well or house ”. The *chamars* and sweepers also used to receive allowances from the village fund.¹⁵

The Bundi State had also a village fund to which the cultivators individually contributed their shares “ to make up the perquisites and allowances of the patel, patwari and other village officials ” and for “ various expenditure including that of collections ”.¹⁶ In Sirohi State also, we come across the references of the village fund or *Malba*, the 50 per cent proceeds of which was kept aside for village expenses and the remaining amount kept by the Darbar¹⁷.

Maintenance of the accounts

The various States of Rajputana, where village funds were being maintained, had to keep a watchful eye on the proper keeping of the accounts. The various patwaris of the villages were the custodians of the fund accounts. Rules and regulations were framed in the Tonk State regarding the proper maintenance of the records of income and expenditure of the fund. Anybody found misappropriating the amount was punished. Yearly balance sheets were prepared by the patwaris and submitted to the higher revenue authorities for scrutiny. The villagers who contributed their share to *Malba* had the right to inspect and to satisfy themselves about the account. The Resident at Tonk State while reporting about his Residency in 1867–68 to the AG.G. Rajputana, writes, “...the item, village expenses, I found a subject of general complaint and justly so”. He further mentions, “An extravagant or dishonest patel, if on good terms with his patwari, could charge pretty much what he pleased to this head”.¹⁸ The State had allowed, the villages to approve of the expenditure under the various heads. Whenever there was a saving the amount in balance could be spent for the welfare of the village folk by their consent, viz., for construction of tanks. The erstwhile Tonk State, with an aim of the proper utilization of the *Malba* laid down “Any patel guilty of extravagance or misappropriation of the *Malba* shall be liable to dismissal and the forfeiture of his *riyat* besides punishment in a criminal court”. It was

also provided in clear terms that amount of *Malba*... "shall be disbursed, under the following heads of expenditure, after consultation with the village *panchas*... (1) *Mazhebi Rasum*, (2) *Refah-i-Am*, (3) *Khairat* (4) *Kifazat zirat*, (5) *Haq-i-Kamnan*, (6) *Nazar Bhet* and (7) *Tajhiz Tak fin lawaris*'

Conclusion

It is clear now that the *Malba* in the form of village fund was an important institution of its own kind, being rather a collective concern, meant for the smooth administration of the village as a compact unit. We have known that the items of expenditure were not to be fixed by the contributors to the fund, as they were clearly defined by the tradition and conventions of the past several centuries, but as regards the amount of expenditure the villagers, in the shape of a *panchayat*, inspected and voted for it. All the balance shown in the annual accounts of the fund could be spent for betterment of the village only by the consent of the village folk. Thus though the State Government exercised a superficial control over the village economy, but in fact, the *Malba* fund gave the villagers a considerable amount of economic autarky.

REFERENCES

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2. Report on the Revenue Settlement of Tonk, Parts I & II, 1892, p. 104-05.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
5. *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol III, loc cit.
6. *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III (1880), p. 210. On the advice of Captain Impey, the ruler of Alwar issued the orders for fixing the limits of village expenses at a percentage of the village jama-Malba shall not exceed on a revenue of—

(i) Rs. 100	- 15 percent	(iv) Rs. 1,500	- 6 percent
(ii) Rs. 500	- 10 percent	(v) Rs. 3,000	- 5 percent
(iii) Rs. 1,000	- 7 percent	(vi) Above	- 4 percent
7. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II (1920), p. 1158-59.
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FOREST INDUSTRIES OF RAJPUTANA

(1800—1900 A. D.)

HARI SHANKAR SHARMA

Several household industries, based on forest produce, directly or indirectly, thrived in Rajputana during the nineteenth century. Although these industries were wide-spread but sometimes did not bear industrial characteristics and appeared merely occupations or crafts pursued by individuals. Nevertheless these were important occupations and the manufactures had important utility in every day life.

1. Distribution of forest wealth

Extensive wood lands¹ were found on the south-western Aravallis and throughout the hilly tracts. In the west and south of Mewar, the forest stretched for miles and the southern-most States of Banswara, Dungarpur and Partapgarh had best timber forests. In Bundi, Kota, parts of Jaipur, Alwar and Karauli, the wood lands were considerable. The principal trees in these forests were : *dhak* (*butea frondosa*), *dhaman* (*grewia pilosa*), *dhao* (*anogeissus pendula*), *gol* (*odina wodier*), *salar* (*boswellia thurifera*), *semal* (*bombax malabaricum*), *tendu* (*diospyros tomentosa*) bamboo and *mohwa* (*basia latifolia*).

The forests of Mewar were well wooded and covered with bamboo-jungle. The Bansi and Dariawad forests in the south-east corner of the State contained the largest and most valuable timber and considerable quantities of teak was annually cut and sold. *Mohwa* and mango trees were found in abundance in some parts of the State.² The Sadri district of Mewar, even before 1817 was largely a forest area.³

Sirohi State had good forests on the slopes of Mt. Abu and the belt round its base extended in the neighbourhood of Mungthala, Girwar and Nawal upto the Palanpur border. There were several varieties of indigenous nuts and roots⁴ and the most common trees were bamboo, mango, *siris*, *dhao*, *bar*, and *dhak*.

The forests in Alwar were called *bani*. In the hilly tracts, *salar* and *dhak* were the common trees on upper slope and on table-land and at the base of the hills and narrow valleys. The *tal* (*penta ptera*) formed a picturesque wood, and palm trees, bamboo and *kikar* were numerous. Among the shrubs, *ber* bushes, *arusa*, *ak*, *khip* etc. were common⁵.

In Banswara, the forests were densely populated⁶ with *sag* (teak), *sisam*, *ladar*, *gomar* and *hardu*, particularly in the north portion of the State. Similar forests were found in Kushalgarh region also.

Large tracts of Bundi were woodland chiefly of *sal*, *tendu*, *khair*, *mulkarai*, *babul*, *mohwa*, *ber* and *bel*.

In Partapgarh, in Magra region, teak, *sisam*, *pipal*, *babul*, and bamboo were in abundance.⁸ Sandalwood forests were under the State monopoly.⁹

Dungarpur State abounded in teak and other valuable forests. But indiscriminate felling and burning by Bhils left the State deficit by the end of the century.¹⁰

In Jhalawar, the forests were covered with *dhao*, *gurjan*, *kadam*, *bael* (*Aegle marmelos*), *dhak*, *tendu*, *mango*, (*diospyros Ebenum*), bamboo, *shisham*, *mohwa*, *khora* (*terminatia glabra*), *khair*, *khejra* etc.¹¹

In Jaipur State forest were met with in Sawai Madhopur and Jaipur nizamats and consisted of *babul*, *ber*, *dhak*, *dhekra*, *gular*, *jamun*, *khair*, *nim*, *pipal*, bamboo, *shisham* etc. The forests were divided into reserved, demarcated and undemarcated.¹²

In Kota, the principal trees were teak, *bel*, *dhak*, *dhokra*, *gular*, *mohwa*, *nim*, *pipal*, *tendu* etc. The forests in Dholpur were known as *dang* and occupied roughly 1 to 1½ lakh acres of land.¹³

2. Industries based on forests

While utilizing the forest produce for industrial purposes, care was taken that no wastage occurred and each ingredient of the trees was utilized to the maximum. Some trees like *khejra*, *mohwa* etc. were ideal in this respect, for, the wood, the flowers, the fruits, the roots, the leaves, all were used for one purpose or the other.

Industries based on forests can be classified into two categories, viz, (A) industries where forest vegetation was directly used as raw material and (B) where forests formed the base for these industries but forest produce was not the raw material. These are described below in this order.

(A) Industries where forest produce formed the raw material

(i) Agricultural Implements

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the rural populace and the mainstay of rural economy. Agricultural implements were, therefore, more or less in regular demand throughout the year. Carpenters were available almost in every village and carried on the work of manufacture and repair¹⁴ of articles of daily use including the agricultural tools. They possessed the technical knowledge of woodcraft such as durability of particular wood, its susceptibility to wood-worms and suitability of particular wood for particular purpose. For ploughs and hoes, the wood generally used was those of *babul*¹⁵ (*ncacia arabica*), *Khejra*¹⁶ (*prosopis spicigera*), *tana*¹⁷ (*Ongeini dalbergioides*), *temru*¹⁸ (*diospyros melanoxyton*) and *dhaura*¹⁹ (*anogeissus latifolia*). For the *nai* or the hollow pipe attached to the plough, piece of bamboo²⁰ was generally used. The twigs of *phog* (*calligonum polygonoides*), a very

common bush in the forests in desert region, were used as wickerwork to line the wells and to prevent the sand from falling in.²¹ *Lao* or the rope for pulling water out of the well was made from the fibres obtained from the roots of *dhak*²² or from the pods of *ak*²³ (*calotropis procera*). The wood used for the stand of the *chak* or pulley on the well was that of *babul* (*acacia arabica*) and *khejra* (*prosopis spicigera*) while for the *chak* itself, the wood of *dhak* was considered best.²⁴

(ii) Industries for the articles of domestic use

These may be divided into three classes viz (a) building material (b) furniture and (c) others.

The building material mostly consisted of planks for doors, and rafters and beams for supporting roofs. The wood of *teak*²⁵ (*tectona grandis*), *temru*²⁶ (*diospyros melanoxylon*), *babul*²⁷ (*acacia arabica*), *khejra*²⁸ (*prosopis spicigera*), *kair*²⁹ (mostly in desert area), *Kharia*³⁰ (*acacia catechum*), *bohin* (*soymida febrifuge*), *ghogar* (*albizzia procera*), *haldu* (*adina cordifolia*), *Rohira Kakria* (*Lagerstaemia parviflora*) *mohwa* (*bassia Latifolia*), and *Khajur* were generally used for beams and rafters. *Bans*³¹ (*dendrocalanus strictus*) was chiefly utilised by the Bhils for supporting the huts and used as house-posts.

Bamboo was used not only for making cots and other furniture but for decoration purposes also.³² The wood of *shisham* (*dalbergia latifolia*) and *dhaman* (*grewia vestita*) was used for manufacture of bedsteads. Lacquered tables were manufactured at Shahpura³³ and bed legs at Karauli.³⁴

Some of the articles of everyday use were also manufactured from the forest produce. Mats, fans and brooms were made from the leaves of *Khajur*³⁵ or palm and *bans*³⁶ (*dendrocalanus strictus*). Basket making was an important industry and it was carried on by the *Ghanchas* in Marwar³⁷. *Khimp*³⁸ and *bans*, both were used in this industry as raw material. Brushes were made from *cusha*-grass and starch from *coli-cundo* roots and both were indispensable to the cloth-weavers.³⁹ *Lamp* and *monj*,⁴⁰ a hard grass as well as the bark fibre of *Kodala*⁴¹ tree were used in making ropes for stringing cots. *Seran* or *moya*⁴² grass and *Khimp*⁴³ were also used for this purpose. *Gwarias*⁴⁴ were professional rope makers in Marwar. The leaves of *dhak*⁴⁵ or palm tree (*butea frondosa*), *bars kesoola*⁴⁶ and *mohwa*⁴⁷ were very much sought after by the manufacturers of *pattals* and *dauna* or platters and cups. The leaves were joined together by means of rivets of grass. These articles were in great demand during marriage⁴⁸ or feasts. The wood of *Khirni* (*wrightia tinctoria*), *sarin* (*albizzia lebbek*) and *ghorar* (*albizzia procera*) was used for making bangles⁴⁹ and artisans at Udaipur produced excellent wooden bangles.⁵⁰

Planks of *sarin* and *ghorar* were also used for making oil pressers and sugar pressers.⁵¹ The hard white wood of *gangan* or *gangerun* (*grewia populifolia*) was used for manufacture of walking sticks⁵² which were

known for their excellency. Polo sticks were manufactured from the wood of *Kumtia* (*acacia rupertris*) which was chosen for its toughness and lightness. Bows were made from *Kumpta* and the bow-string (*chulla*) from the slip of its elastic bark.⁵³ Other articles manufactured from the wood were: *toran* or a frame of wood used during the marriage ceremony⁵⁴, musical instruments⁵⁵, wooden sandals (*Khadau*) etc. The tree of *bhu bambhi* (*acacia jacquemonti*) produced a wood which was very much prized by the gold smiths on account of its hardness and smoothness for beating out gold leaf.⁵⁶

(iii) Wood work industry

This mostly consisted of the manufacture of toys and ornamentation on wood. Excellent wooden toys were manufactured at Bhilwara⁵⁷ (in imitation of Banaras toys), Shahpura⁵⁸ and Mundawa⁵⁹ (in Jodhpur State). Painted and lacquered wooden toys of Banswara⁶⁰ and Karauli⁶¹ were noted for their fame. At Sawai Modhopur, there was a brisk trade in lacquered toys.⁶² In Tonk State, pen-cases carved in wood and inlaid with ivory were manufactured.⁶³ The wood of *siris* (*albizzia lebbek*) was considered most suitable for ornamental carving.⁶⁴

The *chauris* or fly-whisks and sometimes the handles of the *chauris*, were prepared from sandal wood.⁶⁵ These manufactures were the curiosities of Bharatpur.⁶⁶ Combs and rosaries of sandal-wood were manufactured at Ajmer and there was a brisk sale due to pilgrims.

(iv) Packing cases and boxes etc.

Semal hemala (*bombax malabaricum*) wood was largely used for packing boxes, scabbards for swords etc. Planks were used for manufacture of opium-chests.⁶⁷ Oval-shaped wooden boxes known as *ghatia* for carrying tobacco were prepared in Ajmer-Merwara.⁶⁸ Lacquered boxes of Karauli⁶⁹ were well known for excellency.

(v) Sleepers for railways

With the advent of railways in Rajputana, the demand of timber was increased for laying sleepers for railways. The wood of *babul* (*acacia arabica*), *khair* (*acacia catechu*), *shis am* (*dalbergia latifolia*) *salaran* (*boswellia serrata*), etc. were used.⁷⁰ *Dhau* (*anogeissus pendula*) was tried for railway sleepers but the wood was so hard and brittle that it cracked too readily to last when perforated with iron pins necessary to fix the nails, and also spoiled the boring instrument.⁷¹ *Rohin* (*Soymida febrifuga*) and *sag* (*tectona grandis*) were also used for this purpose.

(vi) Pickles, oils etc.

Pickles of *Kair*, unripe mango and *aunli* were very common and Shahabad in Jhalawar was famed for it.⁷² Oil was extracted from the fruit of *nim*, *arand* and *mohwa* ⁷³ (*basia latifolia*). The oil of *mohwa* was often used to adulterate ghi. ⁷⁴

(vii) Products for medicinal purposes

Some of the forest products were very frequently and effectively used in the preparation of medicines. Infusion⁷⁵ of the bark of *siris* (*Albizzia lebbek*) was commonly given to the camels suffering from *sirra* or other diseases. *Bahul* leaves pounded in a poultice were applied in the treatment of ophthalmia and was considered potent.⁷⁶ Likewise *billi* or *bael* or *bilgiri* found at Anadra in the base of Abu and lower Aravallies was considered as an excellent remedy in dysentery and bowel infection and was exported⁷⁷ to Europe for medicinal purposes. The leaves of bamboo were used in cough and lung affection.⁷⁸ Nim, *bar*, *anwala bahera* and *thor* were also used in several ailments. *Bahera* (*Terminalia bellerica*) and *aoile* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) were principal exports of Sirohi.⁷⁹ *Birami* was a cooler and purifier of blood and *gillo*, a febrifuge.⁸⁰

(viii) Perfumery

Scents and perfumes were in great demand by the States on ceremonial occasions. Tod mentions that offering of *itr* and *pan* (betel leaf) denoted the closure of an interview.⁸¹ Distillation of jasmine scent was common. Jaipur was known for distillation of *keora itr*.⁸² *Khas Khas* scent was in vogue everywhere and was manufactured in great quantity.⁸³ *Khas Khas* was sweet scented grass and Watt drew the attention of European perfumers towards it.⁸⁴ It was also used for making scented *Khas tattas* or screens and fans.⁸⁵ Kishangarh⁸⁶ was well known for manufacture of drinking vessels, betel-nut boxes and bottles made from *khas khas*. Sawai Madhopur⁸⁷ was an important mart where there was brisk trade in scent produced from *Khas Khas*.

(ix) Distillation of liquor

It was an important industry and distilleries were found almost in every State of Rajputana. The flowers of *mohwa* (*basia latifolia*) were extensively and commonly used in distillation.⁸⁸ This tree was very common in the forests of Udaipur,⁸⁹ Banswara,⁹⁰ Jhalawar,⁹¹ Dungarpur⁹² and in several parts⁹³ of Sirohi and Marwar. In fact, the flowers of this tree formed an item of export for the States like Jhalawar, Banswara and Dungarpur. The distilleries were run by the *kalals* and in some States, duty, was levied on the liquor shops. Mention⁹⁴ is found that the *banjaras* on their return journey from Shahabad in Jhalawar after delivering salt, took *mohwa* to Kota, Bundi, Tonk, Jaipur and Marwar and the quantity so exported was of the tune of 8300 maunds after local consumption, in or about the year 1885. *Anwal* or *Awal*⁹⁵, *Pods*⁹⁶ of *kikar* (*acacia arabica*) and its bark⁹⁷ were also used in distillation.

(x) Tanning and dyeing

Tanners and dyers were in constant need of those forest products which were used in their industries. Barks of *anwal*⁹⁸ (*cassia*

auriculata), *babul*⁹⁹ (*acacia arabica*), *khejra*¹⁰⁰ (*Prosopis spicigera*), *dasan*¹⁰¹ (*rhus mysorensis*) and leaves of *dhaura*¹⁰² (*anogeissus latifolia*) were used as effective tanning and dyeing agents. *Anwal* was the chief product of Mewar. It was also found in abundance in Sirohi and Jaswantpura and was exported for dyeing and tanning purposes. Fruits of *bahera*¹⁰³ were used by the dyers to give a yellow ground.¹⁰⁴ *Chir*, a root, was used in obtaining permanent red dyes.¹⁰⁵ *Ak* roots were also used for tanning purposes.¹⁰⁶

(xi) Transport

Wood was extensively used in the manufacture of carts¹⁰⁷ and ferries.¹⁰⁸ While *khejra*¹⁰⁹ (*prosopis spicigera*) and *babul*¹¹⁰ (*acacia arabica*), *tendu* and *dhao* were considered good for the body of the cart, the wood of *temru*¹¹¹ (*diospyros melanoxylon*), *tana* (*ongeni dalbergioides*) and *dhaura*¹¹² (*anogeissus Latifolia*) were used for the poles, axles and wheels of the carts. Saddles were also manufactured.

(xii) Bleaching and cleansing agents

Tod mentions¹¹³ that the people used an alkaline nut in washing, which by simply steeping, emitted a froth and was a good substitute for soap. He termed it soap-nut. This, in fact, was *ritha* or *aritha* (*sapindus emarginatus*) which was very commonly used as cleansing agent¹¹⁴ and Brandis, the Inspector General of Forests to the Government of India, recommended to give special care to this plant in Ajmer-Merwara.¹¹⁵ The plant of *sajji* (*salsola*) was found in natural growth in Anupgarh region of Bikaner State¹¹⁶ and it produced, when burnt, an impure carbonate of soda which was extensively manufactured and used as washing and dyeing agent.¹¹⁷ A similar plant, but darker than *sajji* known as *lami* was met alongwith *sajji* and used for similar purposes.

(xiii) Paper was manufactured at Gosunda¹¹⁸, Sanganer¹¹⁹, Kota¹²⁰ and Tijara¹²¹ and wood pulp was used in its manufacture.

(B) Industries based indirectly on forests

(i) Lac (*Coccus Lacca*)—Order: Haemoptera; family: Coccidae.

Throughout the Aravallis and in the fertile lands in the neighbourhood of the hills, there were many trees in the forests which supported lac insect.¹²² In Marwar, trees like *dhak* (*butea frondosa*), *ber* (*zizyphus jujuba*), *babul* (*acacia arabica*), *sal* (*shorea robusta*), *khejra* (*prosopis spicigera*), *bar* (*ficus indica*), *gular* (*ficus glomerata*), *khair* (*acacia catechu*), *karunda* (*carissa carandas*), *pangara* (*Erythrina indica*) and *am* (*mangifera indica*) were set apart¹²³ for this purpose.

Lac was used for various purposes, the most common being making of bracelets and bangles and those who were engaged in this industry were known as *Lakheras*¹²⁴ and *manihars*.¹²⁵ This industry was found in almost every State of Rajputana. Bracelets manufactured at Jaipur were

beautifully and expensively coloured and gilt and were worn by women of upper class.¹²⁶ This was exported from Jaipur. The bracelets makers of Mallani paid no tax to the *Thakurs* but repaired the broken bangles of the *Thakurs'* family.¹²⁷

Besides this industry, lac was used for varnishing wooden toys, bed-legs and tables. Lacquered articles were much prized. Lac was also used in ornamenting idols¹²⁸, shields and in laying precious stones in ornaments. Inferior lac was used for sealing purposes.

(ii) Honey

Honey was an important by-product of forests and formed an article of export to several States.¹²⁹ Tod had taken twenty bottles of Aravalli honey to England and he was of the opinion that it was superior to European honey in its pristine flavour and purity.¹³⁰ It was of two kinds; that collected from upland was colourless and that from the mango-blossom of the lower range of Aravalli, had slight brown tint. Honey was allowed to drop from the comb into baskets lined with plantation-leaves, from which it was poured into bottles and well-corked.

(iii) Gums and resins

Gums and resins were the exudes from the trees, principally of *babul*¹³¹ (*acacia arabica*), *khair*¹³² (*acacia catechu*), *dhao* (*anogeissus pendula*), *gugal*¹³³ (*balsamodendron mukul*), and *dhak*¹³⁴ (*butea frondosa*). These were the general items of export.

3. Policy of the States towards preservation of forests

During the early years of British occupation of the country, no attention was paid towards this aspect, for, systematic forestry was unknown to the Britishers at home at this time.¹³⁵

It was only during the period 1864-1900 that important steps were taken in this direction and Forest Laws were promulgated. In Ajmer, a British administered territory, Forest Regulations were framed in 1874 and steps were taken for conservancy. In fact, other native States of Rajputana had better organisation and control over their forests than British government had over Ajmer. This is corroborated by the report of the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer who made a tour through the States of Rajputana and concluded that in no State that he had seen, the jungle had been so completely shaved off the hill sides as in British Ajmere.¹³⁶

Steps were taken by the Jaipur State as early as 1867-68 to conserve the forests¹³⁷ and in December 1870, a proclamation was issued by the ruler¹³⁸ on the subject which enjoined on all the Jagirdars, Zamindars and others to assist in the work. In Tonk¹³⁹, demarcation of forest areas were done in 1868-69. Steps were taken by Sirohi State in February 1868 to reclaim the extensive forests south of Abu, locally known as Girwar Mowul Putta and a separate parganah was created with a separate

Kamdar¹⁴⁰. Kota State took up the work in 1880 and Jodhpur in 1888. It is difficult to say whether steps for conservancy in the native States were actuated by the British policy or out of sheer necessity¹⁴¹ but it is true that assistance from British forest Officers were taken by the States. The result of the policy of conservation and plantation was, that in 1903-04, the forest area in the States of Alwar, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Sirohi combined together, was about 2,800 sq. miles and revenue, excluding the value of grass, wood & c. taken free by the right-holders or supplied to the durbar, was about Rs. 2.5 lakhs¹⁴² of which Kota State alone claimed Rs. 69,000.

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A NEW LOOK AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SUZERAINTY IN RAJPUTANA

DR. M. S. JAIN

MM. G. H. Ojha and Kaviraj Syamaldas have been at pains to show that the Maratha invasions sapped the vitality of Rajput states in general and of Mewar in particular.¹ Dr. M. S. Metha also opines that the Rajput states had been reduced to miserable conditions by Maratha oppressions for half a century as a result of the destruction of their resources in wealth, population and political prestige.² They have considered this destruction by the Marathas to be responsible for the willingness of Rajput states to enter into an alliance with the British. They have remarked that the Rajput states found in the British alliance a much needed relief and deliverance from the Marathas and Pindaris. It may be instantly conceded that it would be futile to deny the damage caused to Rajputana by the frequent depredations and invasions of the Marathas. But a proper assessment of the forces which made the Rajput states willing to accept the British suzerainty is necessary.

It is surprising to find that the Rajput states accepted British suzerainty without a struggle. The Rajput chiefs and rulers had been in the vanguard of Indian defence against external invasions from the 11th to 16th century. More than one and a half century of Mughal overlordship had, it appears, accustomed them to a life of ease and comfort and thereby brought before them the advantages of accepting suzerainty of the imperial power. The policy of acceptance of Mughal hegemony, leading to the enrichment and prosperity of the state of Amber and Jodhpur, did not fail to impress the house of Mewar which had faced innumerable hardships as a result of having launched a single handed

struggle for autonomy against the Mughal Empire.³ Mewar's pre-eminence among the Rajput states was lost. Ojha acknowledged that Mewar had been unable to play a major role in the affairs of northern India primarily because she had been unconnected with Delhi politics.⁴ The advantages of a policy of submission to an imperial power, whatever that be, had been learnt during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Rajput nobility in the 18th century emulated the Mughal nobility and tried to play an important role in determining succession to the throne and in carving out separate principalities for themselves. Disputes about succession to the throne had become frequent and almost chronic on account of the rulers marrying a number of wives. The absence of a definite law of succession, as shown by the marriage of the princess of Mewar to Sawai Jai Singh with the condition that the heirs born of this marriage would be the future rulers of Amber, was another potential cause of rivalry.⁵

It was this chronic rivalry between two candidates to the throne, each having the support of a section of local nobility, which led them to invite Maratha troops to interfere in Rajput politics. Thus frequent Maratha invasions were in the beginning made at the initiative of the rival factions of the Rajput nobility.⁶ Kota-Jaipur rivalry and Saktawat-Chundawat rivalry were the main grounds of Maratha interference in Amber and Mewar states.⁷

The Rajput rulers welcomed the British when the latter first sought to establish rights of hegemony over the Indian states during 1803-05. At that time the Pindari menace had not assumed the proportions that it did in 1816.⁸ During 1805-1816 Maratha invasions in Rajputana had been largely replaced by the Pindari invasions. When Hastings set out in 1817 with the ostensible object of concluding alliances with the Rajput states, he felt himself to be bound by the British treaties with Sindhia and the Peshwa according to which the British had accepted the supremacy of Maratha relations over the Rajput states. During 1817 Peshwa and Sindhia had been pressurized to surrender their overlordship over Rajputana; Amir Khan had concluded a treaty with the British and become the Nawab of Tonk (Nov.-Dec. 1817); Holkar was also compelled to withdraw his claims over the states of Rajputana. Thus the British left themselves free to establish treaty relations with the Rajput states.

None of the treaties of 1818 with Rajput states mentioned that the British power would protect them against the invasions of the Marathas and the Pindaries. Both of them had ceased to exist as independent powers

years after 1818, Mewar continued to be financially poor. It was only after prolonged and continuous exertions on the part of the British Resident that the ruler could recover his prosperity. The British Resident had to stand guarantee for the Maharana's loans undertaken for ordinary domestic expenses.¹²

In Jodhpur, the treasury was almost empty on account of internal disorders and disputes.¹³ The financial implications of the British treaty were no less severe than the financial tribute, irregularly paid to the Sindhia. The only difference now was that the Jodhpur ruler agreed to pay the same amount to the British regularly.¹⁴ The prosperity of the state could be recovered only after the nobility had been brought under control. In the case of Dungarpur also, the financial vitality and strength had been considerably reduced. This destruction again was not so much on account of the Maratha inroads as shown by the fact that the condition of the state again deteriorated during 1820-23 A.D. because the nobles began their plundering activities again and the condition came to be as it was prior to 1818.¹⁵ Surely the Pindaris and the Marathas had not come again. In the case of Banswara also, the chiefs had become so rebellious and disobedient that they dared disobey the British Resident also.¹⁶ The disordered state of affairs continued for some years after. In the case of Pratapgarh, the story repeats itself with the same force. Ojha considered the alliance with the British as heaven sent rain to a dry scorched earth. The ruler had agreed to pay the same tribute to the British as had been paid to Holkar.¹⁷ He had, moreover, to enter into separate agreement with the British by which he agreed to pay Rs. 12000/-annually for the military help to subdue the chiefs. The state was unable to pay the same and the agreement had to be cancelled in 1840. The Marathas had never attacked Bikaner; and yet the internal condition of the state had deteriorated.¹⁸ Jaipur, the last to enter the alliance with the British, had itself been torn by feudal rivalries. The Shakhawati, Nathawat, Gugawat nobles had successfully challenged the supremacy of the ruler. These details have been added to show that the turbulent nobility was common to all the states and it created problems which demanded immediate solution.

The frequent invasions of the Marathas had been caused partly by the fact that no Rajput states regularly paid the tribute unless forced to do so and partly by the fact that rival factions of the nobility invited them to settle their feuds. The alliance with the British explicitly contained the stipulation that the tribute paid to the Marathas would be paid to the British. But in accepting the British supremacy without a struggle they could have an important condition incorporated in the treaties of 1818. The treaties bound the British to support the ruler in his struggle against the feudal

nobles; the British also promised not to harbour or protect the nobility in the state. The Rajput rulers gained this advantage which the Marathas had never granted. Thus the British promised to the rulers that stability and security against the nobles which the Mughals had implicitly given. Herein lay the real reason for the Rajput rulers to accept British suzerainty.

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NATURE OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN RAJPUTANA
A CASE STUDY OF JAIPUR (1818-1835)

UMESH CHATURVEDI

Generally the historians of Rajputana have tried to show that the establishment of British influence in various States of Rajputana was beneficial in the maintenance of law and order.¹ Jaipur was an exception to this and the British influence was responsible for the corruption and misgovernment² during the period under study.

Lord Hastings had an all India picture when he thrashed out a scheme of bringing the entire Rajputana under the British influence.³ The scheme took the practical shape of concluding with the numerous States the treaties of subordinate alliance. The pattern of the treaties was the same except that, the amount of tribute payable by the subordinate ally varied. It is a separate story why Jaipur higgled on and happened to be the last major State in signing the treaty and came under the British protection⁴ in 1818.

Article 3 of the treaty⁵ embodies the central idea of the scheme of subordinate alliance. Each of the clauses, that makes the compound sentence, is significant. Each is capable of widest interpretation. 'To act in subordinate co operation', implies compliance of the orders of the paramount power implicitly in all spheres except those where interference was ruled out by other articles of the treaty. 'To acknowledge supremacy' also implies that in the event of difference of opinion, the view and verdict of the paramount power shall prevail. 'Not to have any connection with other chiefs and states' rules out any contact with other rulers even in economic spheres.

When the articles of the treaty are worked out in greater detail and applied in particular situations, the inherent contradictions come to light more vividly. A glance at the various articles of the treaty, even when seen in the background of the policy of subordinate alliance, would give a clear impression that the nature of British influence that was envisaged was of an over-all nature only with no interference in internal administration. This conclusion is also borne out by the purpose which motivated Lord Hastings in extending guarantee of protection to all the States of Rajputana. His purpose was to create a barrier between the Marathas and the Pindaris on the one hand and Sikhs on the other,⁶ so that he might isolate them and deal with them one by one.

The nature of British influence that grew in Jaipur, is studied here in one aspect only i. e., internal sphere.

In article 1 of the treaty the following words occur: ".....friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties". This is capable of different interpretations. The three situations stated below illustrate this point.

On June 17, 1818 a meeting of the chiefs of the State was convened by the then ruler, Maharaja Jagat Singh.⁷ The Resident also attended it. The Maharaja read out a paper which was to be signed by all the chiefs, who were at first reluctant to do so. The Resident, thereupon, advised the assembled chiefs to accept the legitimate demands of the Maharaja and warned them that he had been sent by the Governor-General to maintain those rights, to assert them, and to enforce them; in one word

that 'the friends of the Maharaja were the friends of the British Government and his enemies their enemies'.

In 1823, the Political Agent ordered the troops from Nasirabad to move to Lamba and capture the fort.⁸ Under the agreement signed by the chiefs in 1818, it like other *khalsa* lands, ought to have been surrendered long back; but for various reasons it did not come about. The Rani mother's request to send her own military escort with a letter from Thakur Megh Singh of Diggi, was also rejected. The Qilladar put up a gallant defence and the fort was surrendered only after considerable loss of life. Not only this, the Resident also ordered an attack on the fort of Madhopur, which one of the chiefs named Bharat Singh refused to surrender. Other chiefs who wavered, surrendered the *khalsa* lands which they had occupied in an unauthorised manner.⁹

During Jhota Ram's Prime-ministership (1827-1835), his orders reducing the garrisons of *khalsa* forts resulted in the outbreak of a formidable insurrection in the historic fort of Ranthambhore.¹⁰ A siege of the fort was laid. The British Government refused to lend armed assistance on the plea that it would be taken as an interference in the internal affairs of Jaipur. When in his letter of November 6, 1830, the Maharaja requested for the loan of two regiments for two months, it was turned down by the Governor-General as it was contrary¹¹ to the intention of the treaty of 1818. He even forbade the British officers from mediating between Jaipur administration and rebel Thakurs.

The three situations, described above, clearly show that the paramount power interpreted the words of Article 1 differently. In the first case, the British Government saw its own interest in the resumption of *khalsa* lands and so mobilized the troops. In the second instance, by resuming the fort of Lamba by force in preference to any other method suggested by the Rani mother, it wanted to punish Thakur Megh Singh of Diggi and strengthen the hands of Prime-minister Rawal Bairisal, who enjoyed the confidence of the paramount power. In the last case, since the Prime-minister Jhota Ram was not of the confidence of the paramount power, armed assistance was refused evidently to prove him incompetent.

Maharaja Jagat Singh's death in December 1818 without a son, created the problem of succession. The state of suspense, however, came to an end when on April 25, 1819, a posthumous son to the late Maharaja was born. According to well-established usage, the Rani mother became the Regent.¹²

The entire period of Regency of Bhatiani Rani was a period of ever fresh inroads into the internal affairs of Jaipur.¹³ Insistence by the British Resident on the continuance of Moham Ram Nazir (1819) as Prime minister was in contravention of Article 8. The Governor-General, however, when he upheld the right of the Rani mother to choose

her minister, laid down a bold doctrine which was tantamount to curtailment of internal sovereignty. He laid down 'that every administration established at Jaipur or whatever members composed it, would be inclined, for its own sake, to conform to such general principles of government as we might find it necessary to prescribe'. This doctrine paved the way for having a Prime-minister enjoying the confidence of the British Government. It also made the position of the Prime-minister un-enviable, for, he was required to please two masters simultaneously.

The appointment of the Political Agent at Jaipur in 1821,¹⁴ though not in contravention of Article 8 of the treaty, was the surest way of providing opportunities for its violation and so it did. The Political Agent, Captain Steward, sent appalling reports with the result that the Governor-General sanctioned dual interference in the administration of Revenue and Expenditure and to prevent corruption and embezzlement, justifying the policy on the belief that it would ensure at least the payment of the fixed tribute. Internal sovereignty, that was guaranteed, was either a hoax or crucified at the altar of Article 6. It may also be pointed out that Article 6 was invoked even before situation warranted it, with a view to bring about purity in administration and establish law and order. Later events were, however, such as to rule out the last possibility.

In 1826 the Political Agent hatched out a plan of convening a meeting of the chiefs to decide the fate of the Regent. This he did, under the mistaken impression which he corrected later on, that the Rani mother would cease to be the Regent the moment the minor Maharaja appeared in public. This was unconstitutional as it was against the well established usage. Two meetings were held, one in October 1826¹⁵ and the other a few days later in November, to rectify the error in which it was resolved that the Regency of the Rani was to continue.¹⁶ This episode gave birth to chiefs who were guaranteed British protection against oppression.¹⁷ It very much intensified the party strife. The Resident himself confessed that the party strife at Jaipur was fostered by the support which 'we (British Government) appeared to give to one of them in opposition to Ruling authority'.¹⁸ It violated Articles 1, 2 and 8 of the treaty.

The climax came, however, in 1835 when the districts of Shekhawati and Torawati were taken over by the British Government with all the position and authority hitherto enjoyed by the Jaipur ruler, including the realisation of tribute from the chiefs. It was also decided to take over the lake and the districts of Sambhar¹⁹ and to retain it until the Government of Jaipur paid all the expenses of the expedition into Shekhawati and it should have given satisfactory evidence of its readiness to co-operate with the British Government for suppression of Thugs.

No where in the treaty of 1818, such a step was ever visualised. It was in clear violation and even against the very spirit of the whole treaty.

This was the fate of the internal sovereignty that was guaranteed to the Maharaja and his heirs and successors during the period under study i. e. 1818-1835.

Despite the situations narrated above, some historians have tried to make out that even though it was not provided specifically in the terms of the treaty, what was aimed at was peace and tranquility, law and order without which no progress was possible. Otherwise there is no reason why within two months of the signing of the treaty, the Resident was directed by the Governor General to attend the meeting of the chiefs called by Maharaja Jagat Singh and bring pressure on the chiefs to accept the demands of their ruler. Later incidents, however, wipe out even the phantom of such an impression. To play the minister against his master as the British did in the case of Rawal Bairisal, and to guarantee protection to chiefs, which really meant protection to those who were even openly defiant to their ruler, was the surest way to foster and work up group rivalries and create conditions in which maintenance of law and order was impossible.

There existed factions and rival groups of the nobility even before 1818. But after that date the external factors played decisive role. When we examine the nature of British influence during this period it becomes evident that even though the paramountcy of the British Government had been conceded only in the external affairs i.e. in dealing with other States, the subordinate status that had been allotted became subordinate not only in matters of offence and defence i.e. military matters but also in other spheres of administration.

The chiefs and nobles and people began to feel this. They had the taste of it in 1818 itself in the meeting of chiefs which was also attended by the Resident. Military action against Bharat Singh at Madhopur fort and supporting Rawal Bairisal against the Regent and compelling her to take him back as Prime-Minister (1823) imparted lasting character to this taste. Whether on account of political expediency, or because it was a transitional state, every thing was attempted to be done within the framework of the treaty, sometimes, invoking one article and sometimes the other in justification of the contemplated action. The paramount power made it very clear by their actions that in all important matters none but British Government represented by the Political Agent or Resident or Governor-General had the final say.

When the Governor-General ordered that Bairisal be given quietus in accounts,²⁰ the natural influence of it was to create within the body politic of Jaipur territory an army of dependable supporters of the British carrying the impression that all their faults would be condoned. From the stand-point of the Jaipur ruler it created a gang ever ready to challenge his authority.

During the period under study no change in the pattern of administration was ordered or advised. The most devastating influence was on the morale of the chiefs and nobles and people alike. One and all were over-awed by the growing British might and seemed helpless to check the British interference in the internal affairs of Jaipur State.

The period under study brings out prominently the fact that the association with the British aggravated rather than toned down the evil effects of minority administration under the Regency of the Rani mother. Maharaja Jagat Singh, while accepting the subordinate status and sacrificing external sovereignty must have hoped to usher in an era of peace without which prosperity was a will 'o' the wisp. The historic analogy of the beneficial effects in terms of peace and prosperity that flowed by association of Jaipur with Mughals under Akbar, must have prompted the Maharaja to pay the high price. But this hope was completely belied. The presence of a bigger power ever ready to interfere weakened the central authority of Jaipur. It whipped up disloyalty. The Jaipur State in 1835 presented the grim look of a divided house where chaos became the rule rather than exception.

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2. C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. III, p. 91.
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4. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, pp. 305-306.
5. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
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7. H. C. Batra, *The Relations of Jaipur State with the East India Company*, p. 52.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
9. In other cases also British behaved in the same spirit; particularly in Ponjara; they went overhead of the Durbar in settling the affair, while in the resumption of Sambra Jaghir and fort held by Megh Singh of Diggi was motivated to intimate the factors that supported the Rani Mother. 'Summary of affairs', Foreign Department 1818-1835, pp. 41-43.
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11. *Ibid.*
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13. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-62.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
15. General letter, 28 July, 1828, Foreign Department, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
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BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE PROSCRIBED THAKURS OF RAJPUTANA DURING THE HEGEMONY OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

DR. VIJAY KUMAR VASHISHTHA

In this paper an attempt has been made on the basis of the records of the Foreign and Political Department of the East India Company at the National Archives of India, to study how the proscription of the Chiefs (*Thakurs*) by their rulers from their estates created a new problem regarding the maintenance of general peace and tranquillity for the British Government in Rajputana. An effort has also been made to know the reasons for the proscription of the Chiefs, and the measures and the policy which the British Government adopted to deal with this new menace.

The British armed intervention in Rajputana region and conclusion of treaties with its Princely States in 1817-18, gave a sense of relief to its princes against the Maratha-Pindari-Pathan menace and protection against internal disturbances. With the passage of time, as the awe of the British arms began to fade, border depredations and plundering raids were again evident in these parts.¹ The turbulent Bhils, Minas and Grassias inhabiting some tracts of these States resumed their "hereditary profession" of plundering villages and robbing the innocent passers-by.² By 1828-29, these activities precipitated an alarming situation which caused concern to the British Government, for it was its solemn responsibility and obligation to maintain peace on the borders of the Protected States.³

Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India, after his tour of the Rajputana States and the Durbar held at Ajmer in 1832, realised that the British authorities in Rajputana had failed to fulfil the obligations of their Government to the Rajputana States.⁴ To vindicate the British power, he thought it essential to exercise effective control over the interstate relations of these Princely States, as a guarantee against border depredations and plundering raids in Rajputana.⁵ Lord Bentinck, therefore, established a separate Political Agency at the central position of Ajmer with its jurisdiction extending over all the States of Rajputana viz., Tonk, Bharatpur, Alwar, Dholpur, Karauli, Kota,⁶ Bundi, Dungarpur, Sirohi, Banswara, Pratapgarh, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, Jaisalmer and Kishangarh.⁷ For a closer and effective superintendence over these States, Political Agents were stationed in a number of States, as well as at the main points of disturbances within the jurisdiction of the Rajputana Agency.⁸ A number of Political Contingents were raised to apprehend the dacoits and bandits on the borders of the States and to reclaim the Minas, the Bhils, the Mers and the Grassias by enlisting them as soldiers.⁹ The 'International Courts of Vakils' were established at all the permanent Political Agencies in Rajputana and the headquarters of the Rajputana Agency to settle interstate criminal cases.¹⁰

These measures did not prove very effective in checking border depredations in Rajputana as there was also another powerful element aiding and abetting in the commission of these activities, which Lieutenant Colonel James Sutherland, the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana during 1839-41, revealed as the 'proscribed chiefs' or *Barotheas*. The lands of the Chiefs were confiscated by the rulers of the States on the reasons of jealousy of one party in the State against another, 'envy, hatred and all uncharitableness.'¹¹ The proscribed Chiefs took to plundering for their subsistence in the neighbouring States. Further, to bring pressure on their own rulers with a view to seek redress of their grievances, they also committed depredations in their respective States.¹² Sutherland was of the opinion that there were few plunderers in Rajputana (and he doubted whether such could long hold their ground) who plundered for the mere sake of plunder and without the support of some party agitating for restitution of its rights.¹³ Besides, Captain C. Richardes, the Officiating Political Agent at Kota, also considered proscription of the Chiefs as the main reason for the state of disorder and predatory violence which then obtained. He held the view that if 'barotheas' had committed the greatest atrocities on unoffending people, it was because they could not reach those who had injured them and that they turned on others.¹⁴

Changed Relationship between the Rulers and their Chiefs

Prior to the establishment of the British supremacy, according to Sutherland, the rulers were obliged to treat with consideration their Chiefs for their sheer military value.¹⁵ In his chiefs, a ruler found a shield against aggression, and an ally for armed expeditions. The rulers had to patch up their differences with their Chiefs for the fear of the latter seeking revenge by the armed interposition of any external power, may it be the 'Mohamedans' or the Maharattas or a neighbouring prince.¹⁶

The introduction of the British supremacy in Rajputana brought about a material change in the position of the rulers. They now enjoyed security from foreign aggression and had no field for ambition.¹⁷ Even the weak rulers could rely upon the help of the British Government if any exigency arose.¹⁸ In these changed circumstances a ruler no more cared for harmonious relations with his chiefs. Thus, the original basis of grants to the chief, became obsolete. The ruler and his minister began to encroach upon and confiscate the lands and possessions of the chiefs.¹⁶ So dispossessed of property, a Chief commenced a course of open reprisal and depredations in which he was readily assisted by the disorderly characters who abounded in the country.²⁰

The rulers of Rajputana could never have dared to adopt oppressive and tyrannical attitude towards their Chiefs but for their newly-acquired sense of security under the British.²¹ During the Mohamedan and the Maratha supremacy, on the contrary, the rulers had made all-out efforts to propitiate the Chiefs lest a conspiracy should see them deposed or confined.²²

British Policy towards the Proscribed Chiefs

These confiscations and proscriptions were invariably responsible for the reprisals and plunderings for which the British Government and its Political Officers had much to complain at that time.²³ The 'Native Governments' had the power of attaching the property of their Chiefs, but they had not generally the power of protecting even their own subjects from the excesses of the Chiefs, thus driven into rebellion.²⁴ Leaving these proscribed Chiefs to themselves, evidently showed the blatant negligence on the part of the States in preventing their subjects from committing incursions into the neighbouring States.²⁵

This lapse of conduct of the States was one of the most difficult problems with which Sutherland had to deal.²⁶ There was no doubt that the broad principle for him to act upon, was to hold those States responsible for the peaceful conduct of the expatriated Chiefs, which granted them asylum.²⁷ Generally, the tyranny of a particular State drove its subjects into rebellion and forced them eventually to seek asylum into 'foreign territories'.²⁸ Sutherland considered that the British Government could perform few duties more unpopular than that of preventing such persons from revolting against their own Government whilst refusing to attend to their complaints, or afford them redress, simply because they were the subjects of a State independent in its internal affairs.²⁹

Before the advent of British power in Rajputana such proscribed Chiefs received assistance in regaining their lost possessions not only from their brethren within their own States but also from other State.³⁰ The British Government had deprived them of this prop by concluding treaties with Rajputana States. Sutherland contended that by virtue of its position as 'the protectors of all States and general conservators of peace', the British Government could not neglect consideration with regard to the expatriated chiefs. Besides, restoring them to their possessions, was indispensable for ensuring future peace, of the country and of doing them justice.³² As such in all cases of proscribed Chiefs, Sutherland was prepared to enter effectually on enquiry and settlement based on the principle that :³³

.....our (British) measures do not give persons in rebellion cause to triumph over the constituted authorities, and that they do not too easily escape from the penalty attaching to crime-where

punishment and example are necessary, we must join with the Native States in pursuit, seizure, and punishment of offenders to the extent which may be necessary to save the communities from danger and to restore the country to peace.

The application of this principle in the settlement of the cases of the two proscribed Chiefs of Jaipur State, was a glaring example of his ardent desire to maintain peace in Rajputana.

Application of the Principle—A Case study of the Chiefs of Jaipur

Thakur Chaman Singh of Sahewar (in Jaipur) and Thakur Bhim Singh of Munda (in Jaipur) were members of the party of Jhota Ram Singhvi, the ex-Minister of the State. Rawal Berisal Nathawat, the opponent of Jhota Ram and his party (Singhvi party) and the then *Mukhtiar* of the State, suspected their complicity in the plot upon the life of N. Alves, the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana and also in the murder of Blake on June 4, 1835 at Jaipur.³⁴ When they were summoned by the Jaipur Government to stand trial before a Court, they refused to do so. The troops of the Raj were, therefore, sent to punish them.³⁵ After some resistance they fled from their estates and adopted the life of plunderers. The Jaipur Government declared the rebels, and confiscated their estates.³⁶

In 1839 Sutherland found Thakur Chaman Singh and Bhim Singh in arms against the Jaipur Government.³⁷ The sons of Chaman Singh carried a gang of Shekhawati dacoits to the confines of Malwa. Bhim Singh's depredations made a great portion of the roads through Jaipur territory insecure.³⁸ The State of Jaipur did not have sufficient means to subdue them and was not prepared to be held responsible for their actions. Sutherland would not allow the Jaipur State to disown responsibility in this respect, after driving them into rebellion.³⁹ He was desirous to secure Jaipur and other territories from the depredations of the proscribed thakurs.⁴⁰ But before requiring Major Forster to hunt them down with the help of the Shekhawati force, Sutherland wanted to satisfy himself about the guilt of the Thakurs lest he should aid the cause of oppression.⁴¹ He sought information on this score from Ross, the Political Agent at Jaipur who could not afford any that was satisfactory.⁴²

Sutherland was anxious for the restitution of Thakur Bhim Singh and Thakur Chaman Singh to their rights. He had expressed his wish before Thakur Megh Singh of Diggi (in Jaipur), that Munda family (Bhim Singh) should desist from its criminal proceedings and seek restitution of rights through a more legitimate process.⁴³ Thakur Chaman Singh had approached him a number of times.⁴⁴ On this, Sutherland advised both of them to desist from their evil practices so that enquiry into the merits of their cases might be entered on. Accordingly, the Thakurs ceased to agitate and plunder as a mode of seeking restitution of their rights and joined

Sutherland at Jodhpur.³⁵ Sutherland proposed to Ross to send them to Jaipur, so that their cases might be investigated and decided then and there.⁴⁶ As the Nathawat party opposed to them was then in power in the Council of Regency at Jaipur, the State set aside the proposal.⁴⁷ The Thakurs had ceased to plunder at the command of Sutherland and they had no means of subsistence. They could not starve. Sutherland was, therefore, insistent on inquiry into their cases.⁴⁸

With the consent of Ross, Sutherland took up the work of inquiry in his own hands at Ajmer. Findings of his enquiry convinced him that Thakur Bhim Singh,⁴⁹ and Chaman Singh had no hand in the atrocities of June 4, 1835.⁵⁰ The reasons alluded by them for not attending on the summons of the Jaipur Government to stand trial were that Alves did not promise them protection from the party in power.⁵¹ In fact the whole episode was an example of that bitter spirit of animosity which had so long embittered the relations of the 'the great parties, the Nathawats and the Sanghis at Jaipur. Sutherland recommended to his Government that the Jaipur State should restore Thakur Bhim Singh and Thakur Chaman Singh to their estates.⁵²

The British Government objected to the mode of trial which Sutherland adopted in the cases of the two Thakurs.⁵³ It considered it expedient as a rule that duties of this nature should not be taken out of the hands of the local Political Agent and local authorities.⁵⁴ Any other course than this was detrimental to the local authority as it might lead to belief that proper functions of the Political Agent were liable to be superseded on every occasion by the Agent to the Governor-General and that of the Council of Regency by the 'subjects' of the Jaipur Government.⁵⁵ Consequently, the work of final adjudication of the cases of the two thakurs reverted to the Council of Regency headed by Major C. Thoresby, the then Political Agent at Jaipur.

The investigation so conducted at Jaipur concurred with Sutherland as much as that the two proscribed chiefs were not found guilty.⁵⁶ But it differed on one point from him. It favoured the rehabilitation of the Thakurs in new estates and not in their original possessions (*Bapotia*).

In the meanwhile Bhim Singh died. Govind Singh, the son of Bhim Singh,⁵⁷ declined a provision of land which should not include the family possessions. The Rajputs were tenacious on this point.⁵⁸ Sutherland, therefore, considered the decision of the Jaipur Regency of an 'unsatisfactory kind'.⁵⁹ He even feared that if the Thakurs were not given their original jagirs they might resume plundering and thus disturb the peace of Rajputana.⁶⁰ However, after protracted deliberations Thoresby, and the Jaipur authorities acquiesced in restoring the family

estates of Munda and Sahewar to the sons of the deceased proscribed Chiefs from 1841.⁶¹

The endeavours of Sutherland to re-establish the two expatriated Thakurs who were the victims of Court intrigues and political rivalries at Jaipur, out of which so much evil had arisen that smeared the good name of Jaipur State, and disturbed the general peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring States,⁶² were at last successfully terminated.

General application of the Sutherland policy

The Sutherland policy was successfully followed by the Officers of the Rajputana Agency. For instance the Thakur of Seyanah, who was unjustly deprived of his Thikana by the Jodhpur Durbar and had joined the plundering gang of the outlawed Minas and Bhils in the Nahir Hills of Udaipur, was restored by the Maharaja of Jodhpur in 1848 to his possession on the advice of Major Malcolm, the Political Agent at Jodhpur.⁶³ However, the Political Officers did not exercise influence in restoring the proscribed Chiefs to their estates in the way which might encourage them to undermine the authority of their sovereign or might give them encouragement to resist the authority of the British Officers.⁶⁴ In 1854, Henry Lawrence enunciated the principle that the Chiefs who causelessly, went into outlawry and committed deeds of violence, should lose their estates.⁶⁵ The recusant Thakur Kushal Singh of Ahwa revolted against his ruler, Maharaja Takht Singh of Jodhpur and defied British arms during the time of the general Revolt of 1857.⁶⁶ He was defeated by a British force and his estate was confiscated.⁶⁷ Thereupon, with other outlaws of Jodhpur and Sikar, he began living by plundering.⁶⁸ When he abjured the life of a plunderer, the British Government in 1860 set-up a commission and on its recommendations pardoned him for his follies.⁶⁹ Thereafter it brought pressure on the Maharaja to restore him to his Jagir.⁷⁰ However, it was only after the death of Thakur Kushal Singh (1864) that his son and successor, Devi Singh retook possession of the entire estate of Ahwa in 1868.⁷¹ Thus the Sutherland policy towards the proscribed chiefs proved effective in realizing its purpose and was continued in Rajputana, even after the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown. This British policy of bringing about reconciliation between a ruler and his proscribed Chiefs strengthened the hands of the Rajputana Agency in exercising effective control over the interstate relations in Rajputana. This was in realisation of the objects with which the Rajputana Agency was formed in 1832.

An appraisal of the policy

The study brings to our notice the fact that with the conclusion of the treaties the British guarantee to the rulers of protection from any external and internal danger brought about a considerable change in their

attitude towards their chiefs. Instead of following the policy of conciliation and fraternization they had become high-handed and vindictive in their attitude towards the chiefs. Any action of the chiefs which smacked of defiance or disrespect of their rejection from their possessions, or even banishment from the respective State. Thus expatriated, a Chief carried on plundering raids in the territories of his own ruler and the neighbouring States. He resorted to this course for prevailing upon his ruler and the British Government for the restitution of his rights. In this circumstance, the British Government had to assume the role of a mediator. This role of the British Government was undoubtedly contradictory to the treaties which assured British non-interference in the internal matters of the State. But there was no escape from this deviation, as the proscribed Chiefs could bring pressure on the British Government as well as their rulers by committing depredations both in the States of their leige-lords and the other Rajputana States. They were to be provided with subsistence or restored to their original possessions, otherwise they would have continuously followed the policy of disturbing the peace and tranquillity of Rajputana. To fulfil its obligations of the Paramount Power and in the interest of general peace and tranquillity in Rajputana the British Government had no alternative but to mediate between the rulers and their proscribed chiefs. While doing so the British Government tried to maintain the due privileges of the local authorities in the State. Thus the rights of the feudal chiefs in Rajputana were maintained to a considerable extent by foreign pressure.

This study also points out a lacuna in the treaties which did not define the role of the British Government in the event of a dispute between a ruler and his chief. However, the Political Officers exercised their discretion while dealing with the various subjects on which the treaties were silent and established the principle on which the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Rajputana States was to be regulated. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these Political Officers, on account of their intimate understanding of the local problems could dissuade their Government to bring about the necessary changes in the British policy towards the States. This study also revealed that although the British Government desired to follow the policy of non-interference in a State, it never hesitated to interfere in any of its internal affairs which endangered the general peace and tranquillity of its neighbouring States. Thus the British Government vindicated its Paramount authority where its rights were concerned, and did not show any sign of relaxation over the interstatal policy in Rajputana.

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12. Sutherland to Major Ross, d. 16 April, Cons. 21 August, 1839, No. 63, F & P.
13. Sutherland to Ross, d. 16 April, Cons. 21 August, 1839, No. 63, F & P.
14. Richardes to Sutherland d. 18 August, Cons. 8 November, 1841, No. 118, F & P.
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16. Ibid.
17. Sutherland to Maddock, d. 15 May, Cons. 28 June 1841, No. 32, F & P.
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21. Richardes to Sutherland, d. 18 August, Cons. 8 November 1841, No. 118, F & P.
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59. Ibid.
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61. Torrens to Sutherland d. 19 October, Cons. 19 October 1840, No. 19, F. & P.
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OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGHTING OF AHUA

DR. ZABAR SINGH

At the time of the out-break of the violent movement against the British in 1857, Kushal Singh, the Thakur of Ahua, was in direct rebellion against the Government of Marwar and had been making military preparations for some time past.

The origin of the dispute between Kushal Singh and the Maharaja of Jodhpur was the adoption of a son by the Thakur of Bithora with the consent of the Maharaja. It was opposed by the powerful chief of Ahua who arrested the adopted son¹, and released him only on the promised payment of ten thousand rupees. In April, 1857 the same person was treacherously murdered by Ahua thakur's men while proceedings to Ahua under the solemn promise of safe conduct conveyed through a *charan*². The Maharaja of Jodhpur tried to punish the thakur for the offence and attacked the village of Balotra but was repulsed by the Ahua chief. Meanwhile Maharaja's forces were requisitioned by the British Government with the result that he could not take any action against the contumacious thakur³.

On 31st August 1857 the thakur of Ahua communicated to the Political Agent at Jodhpur that he had induced the mutineers encamped near the wall of his fort to surrender their arms, ammunition and other Government property. In lieu of this, the thakur wanted an assurance from the Political Agent for their pardon⁴ which the latter could not give under the orders of the Government and replied that he was extremely surprised that the thakur, who had always been held to be loyal and prudent by the officers of the British Government, should propose to him to show clemency to the persons whom he considered traitors and who had perfidiously mutinied against the British Government⁵. The reply paved the way for the thakur of Ahua to make a common cause with the mutineers, who thereupon determined to stand or fall together⁶. Shivnath Singh, Bishan Singh and Ajit Singh, the thakurs of Asop, Gular and Aluniawas respectively joined them alongwith their troops⁷.

Meanwhile Anar Singh was reinforced by the forces of Kushal Raj Singhi and was encamped at Bithora within a few miles from Ahua⁸, where he waited for further reinforcements and instructions. General Lawrence became impatient at the attitude of the Jodhpur forces who did not attack the mutineers so far and wrote a letter couched in strong language to the Maharaja of Jodhpur and a copy of the same was sent to Anar Singh in which "he upbraided the king with lukewarmness in his alliance, and taunted the army with their cowardice for not having affected anything, saying they were dancing attendants on the rebels like orderlies"⁹.

The letter wounded the feelings of Anar Singh who determined not to survive the disgrace if he failed to accomplish complete victory and destruction of the rebels. Consequently on 7th September, he cannonaded the mutineers who had taken up a position under the walls of Ahua behind a ravine and had entrenched themselves.¹⁰ The skirmish continued for about three hours and there were ten casualties on his side including the death of the son of Mithri¹¹. Anar Singh's cavalry was paralysed on account of the ravine and entrenchments.

Just when the brave *killadar* was preparing for a second attack on August 8, Lt. Heathcote, the Deputy Assistant Quarter-master General of the Rajputana Field Force, arrived in his camp. He was sent by Lawrence to advise Anar Singh¹². The first thing that struck the British officer was the close proximity of the rival camps and therefore he recommended the posting of pickets in front of the camp, so that an alarm could be given in case of a sudden attack and retard the advance of the rebels. The important suggestion was either not implemented or the pickets, if posted, were guilty of betrayal. The negligence proved very serious, and to none more so than to Anar Singh himself.¹³

The planned attack was carried out in the afternoon on the day of Heathcote's arrival with the help of five hundred horses, but proved complete failure due to the reluctance of the force to advance against the guns of the rebels¹⁴. Next day early in the morning the whole of the Jodhpur camp was thrown into utter confusion by the surprise attack of the rebels. At this critical hour Anar Singh was abandoned by Kushal Raj Singh¹⁵ and the majority of the Raja's force fled away after a show of resistance. Lt. Heathcote also followed suit and galloped away from the field. However, Anar Singh undaunted by the odds against him and attended by a few gallant soldiers displayed extraordinary heroism and gave a bitter fight and defended the guns to the last, until all of them were slain. The camp equipage, military store and guns fell into the hands of the rebels¹⁶.

Apprehending that the event would have an injurious effect on the country, if the British would remain quiescent and allow that nucleus of rebellion to continue on the road between Deesa and Nasirabad, Lawrence took a quick decision to collect a force at Beawar and to march with it personally to Ahua.¹⁷ He was detained by heavy rains for several days, and could not reach Ahua before 18th September 1857.¹⁸ The approach to Ahua was through a thick jungle. At the sight of force the rebels brought into action their guns on the bastions and the batteries outside the town opened heavy fire which lasted for three hours. The force also replied the attack suitably and the rebels were obliged to withdraw their guns inside the town and showed no inclination to meet in the field. A gun of the British force was disabled and the casualty included the loss

of Captain Monk Masson, Political Agent Jodhpur, one European and one native soldier and three natives wounded.¹⁹ I. T. Prichard was the last European who had seen Masson off and was the first to receive the sad news of his death in Jodhpur. He had observed that Monk Masson arrived in the neighbourhood of the fort, he dismounted from the camel and proceeded a short distance on foot. Lawrence's force was then engaged with the enemy and artillery firing was going on. It appeared he enquired of some one he had met, the direction in which the Brigadier General was to be found, and went off towards the spot indicated. Before he had gone a few yards he was fired at from behind the bushes and was wounded and almost immediately a charge was made by a large body of the rebel horse upon the wounded officer, who was immediately cut down and killed.²⁰ There is no mention of any ill treatment to the dead body of the Political Agent.

As the parties of rebels on the night were threatening his baggage, Lawrence was compelled to retreat to Chulawas, a village three and a half miles away from Ahua and remained encamped there for three days, hoping to induce the rebels to attack them in the field.²¹ Seeing no chance of his hope being fulfilled and getting the intelligence that the rebels were busy in strengthening their defences, he retreated back to Ajmer alongwith the Field Force leaving the rebels triumphant.

Iltudus Thomas Prichard, who was then lodged at the Political Agency Building at Jodhpur had defended the proceedings of Brigadier General Lawrence. He explained that "history was full of instances where British troops had gained victory over places much stronger than Ahua and against greater odds than those which Lawrence had to contend with." The main difficulty with Lawrence was that except a few white soldiers there was none in his force in whom he could place reliance. His position was extremely difficult, his quiescency as well as activity against a powerful fortress and a powerful garrison with a handful of reliable troops would have proved disastrous. Another consideration was that the few European soldiers he had with him were almost all that were available for the protection of the whole of Rajputana and he could not afford to sacrifice them at Ahua and endanger the security of the British dominion. Prichard observed that, "Few men have been placed in such an awkward position, and none ever made a retrograde movement in presence of an enemy more unwillingly than Brigadier General Lawrence."²²

Nevertheless, the withdrawal of Brigadier General Lawrence struck a terrible blow to the prestige of the British and had the news of the fall of Delhi,²³ not reached just at that moment the fate of Maharaja Takht Singh might have been sealed.²⁴ But for that news the victorious Jodhpur Legion would have marched triumphantly into the capital of Marwar and

the Mahārāja's dynasty and the European families would have been left to their mercy. However, the fall of Delhi caused a dramatic revolution of feeling and provided a severe check to the rebellious spirit and inspired a new sense of confidence in the Maharaja.²⁵

The re-capture of Delhi (between 14th and 20th Sept. 1857) unexpectedly frustrated the projects of ambition of the Thakur of Ahua and ultimately resulted into the separation of the mutineers of the Jodhpur Legion and Thakur Kushal Singh. The rebellious thakurs at Ahua concocted a plan to overthrow Maharaja Takht Singh and place a son of the late Dhonkal Singh on the throne of Marwar. Accordingly a party was sent to Diggi, where he was residing, to induce him to accept the offer.²⁶ The thakurs of Asop Gular and Alaniawas accompanied the mutineers of the Jodhpur Legion, who marched towards Delhi on 10th October for the purpose of securing military assistance from that quarter.²⁷ The mutineers marched through Marwar towards Delhi,²⁸ and occupied Rewari. A force under Brigadier Gerrard was sent against them from Delhi who, on 16th November found them strongly entrenched at Narnaul. After a sharp engagement in which Brigadier Gerrard was killed, they were completely defeated and annihilated.²⁹

The sudden and total defeat of the Jodhpur Legion made a deep impression throughout Marwar. The Legion had been a terror and was considered invincible in its neighbourhood. The complete annihilation of that mighty force compelled the people to at once acknowledge the hopelessness of resistance to any European force.³⁰

The thakur of Ahua was also affected by the feeling of despair. Nevertheless he continued to give encouragement to his followers and improve the fortifications of his town by the construction of a mud wall, which later on proved to be the most formidable portion of his defences.³¹

In January 1858 reinforcements arrived from Bombay and operations against Ahua were immediately commenced under the command of Lt. Col. Holmes.³² The force consisted of 700 cavalry and 1100 infantry, artillery and engineers.³³ The place was invested on 19th January, 1858. After a reconnaissance of the place, decision for the siege operations was taken and a complete blockade was established by the cavalry pickets and batteries.³⁴

The sudden advent of the British force startled the thakur of Ahua, who along with his family was sent in precipitate flight deep into the hilly tracks of Mewar, while his town and his place were left to be defended by mercenaries and his followers. The garrison consisted of about 700 defenders.³⁵

The siege operations continued for five days with incessant firing on both sides. The arrangements for the assault on the morning of 24th

January were complete and the engineers reported that a breach could be made by 9 A.M. The escape of the besieged appeared beyond the bounds of possibility. But a storm of unusual violence and duration passed over the country during the night of 23rd which rendered it impossible to distinguish any object except during the splashes of lightning. Sheltered in this darkness, the entire garrison which chose to brave the elements rather than the assault, passed safely through the lines of pickets, unchallenged except at one point. The escape appeared almost providential.³⁶

It was an irony of history that the Thakur of Ahua had to form an alliance with the mutineers. Only on 31st August, 1857 when the Legion Sepoys were encamped near the walls of Ahua, he had written to Monk Masson that, "the British Government had always been kind to me and I am its faithful well-wisher. Therefore, considering that it would be advantageous to me if I could render some service to the British Government...."³⁷ The letter proves, beyond doubt, that he did not evince anti-British attitude, and in no case he had any intention of being an active partner in any national uprising. His sole aim was to offer resistance to Maharaja Takht Singh, with whom he had fallen into open rebellion, even before the commencement of the mutiny. His alliance with the mutineers was solely guided by the same aim. His plot to overthrow Maharaja Takht Singh and put a son of Dhokal Singh on the throne of Jodhpur,³⁸ furnished a conclusive evidence of his limited and well directed aim. For him the mutineers were nothing more than mercenaries employed to execute his own plan. Briefly speaking, it was an affair between the Maharaja and his contumacious thakur, the British intervention being forced only because of the involvement of the mutineers. Above all the Thakur was cleared of the charge of anti-British activities by the Court of Inquiry held at Ajmer in 1860.³⁹

REFERENCES

1. At this stage the father had died and the adopted son had become the thakur of that place.
2. A promise conveyed through the agency of a charan was considered highly sacred.
3. From Monk Masson to Takht Singh, dt. 22nd May, 1857, R. A. O. H. R. 38, File No. 1, Mutiny Vol. I, p. Branch, pp. 112-113.
4. Letter from Kushal Singh, Thakur of Ahua to Monk Masson Political Agent Jodhpur, dt. 31st August, 1857 R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, Jodhpur (Old) Collection No. I, pp. 6-7.
5. Letter from Monk Masson to Kushal Singh, dt. 2nd Sept., 1857, R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, Jodhpur (Old), Collection No. I, pp. 8-9.
6. The Thakur had another ground also for his annoyance. He had opposed the interference in his traditional feudal right that no resident of his-jagir could

- leave his territory without his permission. But this claim was not accepted by the British Government in case of two money-lenders who left the Thakur's territory without his permission. The Thakur's demand for their return was also rejected. When he failed to get the support of his Maharaja also, he threw off his allegiance, refused to pay 'rekh' and entered on a course of open rebellion. Prichard, I. T., pp. 227.
7. Jodhpur State Records, Sanad Bahi No. 126, p. 546; *Ibid.*, No. 127, p. 592.
 8. Jodhpur State Records, Sanad Bahi No. 126, p. 725.
 9. Prichard. *op. cit.*, p. 236.
 10. Official Memorandum prepared by Monk Masson, dt. 10th Sept., 1857, R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, Jodhpur (Old), Collection No. I, p. 14.
 11. *Ibid.*: Jodhpur State Records, Haqiqat Bahi No. 18, pp. 384 and 409.
 12. Official Memorandum prepared by M. Masson, dt. 10th Sept., 1857, *loc. cit.*
 13. Report of the Intelligence Branch, Army Head Quarters, p. 62, *loc. cit.*
 14. Heathcote's report of the proceedings against the mutineers of Jodhpur Legion, dt. 13th Sept., 1857. R. A. O. H. R. 40, List No. 1, File No. 1, Mutiny Vol. III, pp. 65-74.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 27th July, 1858, R. A. O. H. R. 53, File No. 10, Mutiny Vol. II, p. 78, para 61.
 18. Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 27th July, 1858, para 61, *loc. cit.*
 19. Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 27th July, 1858, paras 62-63, *loc. cit.*
 20. Prichard, I. T., *Mutinies in Rajputana*, a personal narrative, pp. 240-41.
 21. Edmonstone to Lawrence, dt. 20th January, 1858, R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, Jodhpur (Old), Collection No. I, pp. 72-73.
 22. Prichard, I. T., *op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.
 23. The first success was achieved by the British in Delhi on 14th September, 1857; Proclamation issued by the offg. Agent to the G. G. for Rajputana States, dt. 21st October, 1857. R. A. O. H. R. 39, I, Mutiny, Vol. II, p. 49.
 24. The defeat and slaughter of Anar Singh and his few attendants and the capture of his guns, whilst not a man of the thakurs associated with him was injured, reduced Maharaja Takht Singh to a State of perilous helplessness.
 25. The Maharaja Takht Singh celebrated the news of the fall of Delhi by firing a 21 gun salute.
 26. Translation of a letter from Mokhan Singh to Mehta Bijai Singh, dt. 17th Sept., 1857, Cons. 27th Nov., 1857, No. 347, F & Sec.
 27. Translation of a letter from Sawant Singh, Madho Singh and Radha Kishan from Ahua, dt. 9th Oct., 1857, Cons. 18th Dec., 1857, No. 215, F & Sec.; Kaye and Malleeson had written that the thakur of Ahua and his rebel allies quarrelled. Instead of coming to the blows, however, they sensibly agreed to separate. Kaye and Malleeson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.
 28. Jodhpur State Records, Haqiqat Bahi No. 18, pp. 387 & 409.
 29. Morrison to George Lawrence, dt. 5th Dec., 1857, Cons. 29th Jan., 1858, No. 292, F & Sec.; Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 27th July, 1858, *loc. cit.*, para 65; Jodhpur State Records, Haqiqat Bahi No. 18, p. 403.
 30. Major R. Morrison, Offg. Political Agent, Jodhpur to Brig. Gen. Lawrence, dt. 14th Feb., 1858, R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, Jodhpur (Old), Collection No. I, p. 101.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
 32. Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 27th July, 1858, *loc. cit.*, para 66.
 33. Intelligence Branch Report, Army Head Quarters, *loc. cit.*, p. 200.

34. Lawrence to Secretary Government, dt. 6th Feb., 1858, R. A. O. H. R. 260, File No. 84, loc. cit., pp. 82-83.
35. Morrison to Lawrence, dt. 14th Feb., 1858, Cons. 28th May, 1858, No. 333, F. & Sec.
36. Ibid.
37. Letter from Kushal Singh to Monk Masson, dt. 31st August, 1857, R. A. O. H. R. 260, loc. cit.
38. Translation of letter from Mehta Mokhan Singh to Mehta Bijay Singh, dt. 17th Sept., 1858, Cons. 27th Nov., 1857, No. 347, F. & Sec.
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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN RAJASTHAN

(1860—72 A. D.)

DR. R. N. CHOWDHURI

The circumstances which led to the establishment of the first United Presbyterian Mission of Great Britain in Rajasthan more than a century ago are little known facts of modern Indian history. Original documents available with the Mission authorities are yet to be studied by competent scholars for an authentic account of the role of the United Presbyterian Mission in Rajasthan. The writer in the course of search for non-official source material for the study of modern history of Rajasthan came across interesting details regarding the humanitarian activities of the Mission for spreading Christianity, which, to the best of his knowledge, have not yet seen the light of the day.

The Genesis

The genesis of the Mission is to be traced back to the summer of 1858 when the revolt was subsiding after a brutal massacre of the Indians that earnest Christians in Britain were stirred to take a deeper interest in India which was the scene of their recent humiliation. The Christian Churches of Britain felt that the dreadful visitation of mutiny was "the just punishment of God for our most unchristian apathy in regard to the evangelisation of India." The pious Christians loudly and unmistakably proclaimed to the Government of India, "Christianize the millions of Indians given into your hands, or forfeit your claim to rule."

Inspired by such considerations, the United Presbyterian Mission decided to contribute most generously for opening a branch of the Mission in Rajasthan. The proposal evoked a hearty response from the Secretary of Foreign Missions who made long and patient inquiries as to the best field for missionary activity in India. It was Rev. John Wilson, D. D. of Bombay, who furnished valuable information about Rajasthan, then "the most destitute and hopeful field" for the Mission. Colonel Dixon, who

had established the town of Beawar at a distance of 33 miles from Ajmer in 1834, suggested Ajmer-Merwara as the best area for the location of a Mission centre. Consequently, the District of Ajmer was selected by the United Presbyterians as the main centre for evangelical work in Rajasthan.

First Mission at Beawar (1860)

In September 1859, two Missionaries, Rev. W. Shoolbred, M. A. and Rev. T. B. Steele, M. A. having solemnly ordained to the work embarked for India with instructions to proceed to Beawar in Rajasthan in order to lay the foundation of the first Mission station there. On their arrival at Bombay, Rev. John Wilson not only entertained them most hospitably but also accompanied them upto Neemuch. But the journey was so long and arduous that Rev. T. B. Steele fell suddenly ill and died at Erinpura. His surviving colleague Rev. Shoolbred reached Beawar on 3rd March 1860. The English residents of the cantonment extended a cordial welcome to him and assisted him to the preparatory studies necessary for the opening of the Mission. Thus the first Mission was established at Beawar in March 1860. In August of that year, Babu Chinta Ram, a Brahman, was converted. He joined the Mission as a native preacher and opened a School in the adjoining city of Naya Nagar.

Other Mission Stations

In February 1861, another batch of two Missionaries, Rev. John Robson, M. A. and Rev. William Martin joined the Mission and remained at Beawar for sometime to study the local language. In July cholera broke out among the soldiers stationed at Nasirabad when many Christians died. The result was that the station was deprived of the services of a Chaplain for several months. A request was therefore made to the Beawar Mission which decided to render immediate assistance. By September, Rev. Martin, assisted by Khan Singh and Ram Singh, the native preachers and catechist, arrived at Nasirabad and conducted week-day services and visited the hospital.⁴

A year later the Mission was strengthened by the arrival of two more agents, Rev. Auguste Glardon, M. A. and a Medical Missionary, Dr. C. S. Valentine. In February 1862, Messrs. Robson and Glardon, assisted by Abdul Massih, a converted Mahomedan as Catechist, opened the third Mission station in the city of Ajmer. On the 19th March, a School was started in a central locality for teaching the vernacular languages, and for holding meetings to teach and discuss religious subjects.⁵

In November 1863, Mr. and Mrs. Robb inaugurated the fourth station in the village of Todgarh, 40 miles to the south of Beawar, the southern extremity of British territory inhabited by the Mairs. In May 1864, Rev. A. Shields, M. D., a Medical Missionary, arrived from Scotland and organized the medical dispensary of the station.⁶

In April 1866, Dr. Valentine was passing through Jaipur on his way to the hills for holidaying. Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur solicited his help to treat the Maharani who at that time was seriously ill. His treatment of her was successful and the Maharaja requested him to stay on at Jaipur and even offered to place the educational institutions of his kingdom under his supervision. Dr. Valentine, we are told, explained his objects of coming to India and accepted the offer on "condition of his being allowed to preach the Gospel and spread Christianity by every means in his power." The Maharaja, if the Mission account is to be believed, accepted this condition, and in May 1866, the foundation of the fifth Mission was laid at Jaipur. Thus the splendid capital with its large population was "thrown open to the gospel" due to the medical mission of Dr. Valentine.

Five years later, Rev. William Bonnar, M. A. opened the sixth Mission centre at Deoli near Kota.⁸ A Christian village, four miles north east of Nasirabad, came into existence in 1872. It was called *Ashapura* or Hope Town because of the relief that was liberally provided to the famine stricken villages of Gadheri. About 700 bighas of land was given by the villagers as gift while 600 more bighas were purchased. A tank or talao was constructed at a cost of Rs. 2400. The orphanage was then shifted from Nasirabad to the new building in Ashapura with 72 boarders to transform it into "the abode of righteousness and peace."⁹

Several attempts were made to spread Christianity in Kishangarh, Khetri, Bundi and Kota but it met with little success. In 1865, the missionaries had two interviews with the Raja of Kishangarh. They had with them a microscope and a telescope of considerable power. These were used in attracting audiences and in giving ocular evidence of some of the natural truths which they declared. A number of heavenly bodies were exhibited through the telescope at night. "The Bunias were anxious to see what truth there was in the statement that a drop of water could contain numbers of living animals, while the Pundits were sorely perplexed at some of the revelations of the telescope."¹⁰ But the result was discussion with some of the Pundits who defended their religion.

Rev. Robb in his tour of Mewar met with the usual amount of fear and suspicion and the impression of the people was that he had come as a spy previous to a raid being made upon them and that his preaching was a mere cloak to his true designs of conversion.¹¹ Mr Gray's visit to the villages of Marwar had no effect as the villagers were willing enough to listen and to converse, but "absolutely refused to touch Christian books" because "if they did so, they would be made Christians at once, or at all events be forced to pass an examination at the Padre's next visit on the books they had taken."¹²

Rev. William Martin while returning to Nasirabad (1865) from the hills passed through the town of Khetri "in which the Gospel had never

been preached before nor even a European's face been seen.¹³ The young Raja Fatteh Singh, who was already familiar with Christianity, was favourable to its propagation within his territories. "On entering his dominions," runs the report, "the missionary became his guest, and during a stay of several days in his capital enjoyed excellent opportunities in the course of private interviews, of pressing upon the young king's heart the truth to which he already gives intellectual assent."¹⁴

In 1869, Rev. Shoolbred visited Bundi and Kota to preach the Gospel which was heard in public for the first time. The Rao of Bundi granted two long interviews to the Padri in the presence of his courtiers. "The Rao took a leading and intelligent part in the conversations on religion. . . . At Kota the Prince seemed to think religious discussions out of his sphere, and delegated them to some Pundits and a Maulv."¹⁵ No progress could be made as the "people were sunk in gross ignorance."

Thus, in the course of a single decade six Mission stations were established. It was possible because of the local patronage of the British Officials and persistent efforts of ardent Christians, both Europeans and Indians. It is highly significant that with the exception of Jaipur, the Mission concentrated the activities in British territory of Ajmer Merwara but constantly "keeping a watch on the States around to occupy them when we can." The hope to spread Christianity "sooner or later" in all the native States of Rajputana "remained unfulfilled."¹⁶

Evangelical Work

Evangelization was the main object of the Mission. To persuade the low caste Hindus to embrace Christianity, the Mission organized six fold activities - Bazar preaching, Education, Medical treatment, Orphanage, Sale of Books and Tracts and periodic visits to the interior as itineracies.

Bazar preaching, the first experiment of Christian missionaries in Rajasthan, was first introduced by the United Presbyterians in Beawar. The public proclamation of Gospel began in August 1861 and continued twice or thrice a week in the most frequented parts of Beawar when Rev. Shoolbred and the native preacher Babu Chinta Ram preached the Gospel of salvation. At the outset, considerable crowds of Brahmans and even Muslims were attracted around the preachers because of their novel manners, strange accents free distribution of Tracts and Bibles, cheap medicine, display of microscope and also curiosity to hear the foreigner at the cost of time only. The *Padri* was accorded a patient and respectful hearing but the audience soon started thinning as the argument of the preachers appeared to be unconvincing. "Foiled in argument and exposed to the ridicule of the crowd, they very soon held aloof, and contented themselves with forbidding under pain of the most terrible curses, any of the followers from approaching or listening to the preachers in Bazar."¹⁷ Finding that the Brahman's curses were harmless, some of them flocked again to listen to the proclamation of truth. Finally, the *Padri's*

patience and tact triumphed over the "secret hostility and declared opposition of the Brahmans and other Gurus." Within a year of the introduction of public preaching in Beawar, three persons—Umrah, the first Mair convert; Saligram, the tailor and Jussa the farmer—embraced Christianity. In 1864, Magan Bijai, a jati or Jain priest, after seven months of constant instruction in the Mission School at Ajmer was baptized by the name of Isa Das. He is, it is claimed, "the first Jati in India who has embraced Christianity."¹⁸ Despite the opposition of the high caste Hindus and Muslims of Nasirabad, Munshi Hussain Ali and Munsji Waji-ul-Khan became Christians after publicly declaring that they had lost faith in the Koran." The native preachers have been subjected to considerable risk from showers of sand and stones.¹⁹

Another aspect of evangelical work was the right of the Missionaries to contact the prisoners in the jail to bring about a change of their hearts. In spite of the obstacles of the Magistrate, the Government recognized the right to visit and instruct the prisoners. One Boodha, after eighteen months of imprisonment in Ajmer jail, was admitted into the Church while Kooma refused to embrace Christianity although he regularly received religious instruction from the missionaries while in police custody. Boodha, however, died in less than three months after his baptism.²⁰

The case of Babu Balwant Abajee, a Brahmin of Poona, is unique. He was a signaller in the Telegraph Office at Nasirabad. He was deeply impressed by the preaching of Rev. Martin. After studying Bible for eight months, he was received into fellowship of the Church by baptism in the presence of a large and attentive audience. He was suspended temporarily from communion for his immoral conduct. He developed intimacy with a young Hindu whose influence "was of a hurtful kind" but the convert "had not resolution enough to shake himself free of his Society."²¹ His father had come all the way from Poona to win him back to Hinduism. This case is not without its lesson to native Christians.

By 1872, there were 11 British missionaries and 304 Indian Christians in the six stations of the United Presbyterian Mission. Of these, 37 were baptized in the last year 25 at Beawar, 7 at Ajmer, 6 at Nasirabad and 5 at Todgarh. It may be mentioned here that as many as 20 orphans baptized at Beawar whereas the heathens who embraced Christianity in that town were only five. On an average about 25 Indians were admitted every year into the Presbyterian Church.²²

Medical Care

One of the most effective means of bringing home the Gospel to the heathen heart was the medical treatment of the poor and suffering masses of Rajasthan. With the arrival of Dr. Valentine in 1862, the Mission took over the Government dispensary (24 June) which had been closed three years before. The number of patients, both medical and surgical gradually

increased. But indifference, distrust and prejudice, along with the destitute condition of many of the people stood in the way of prevention or cure of many diseases. Rumours were afloat that the *Padri loghad* already been in the country for two years, and not a Christian had been made in the Beawar area. It was given out that: "fearing that they might lose their reward, the Missionaries had sent for a doctor, who by means of medicines mixed with blood, flesh and bones of the cow would break their castes and by repeating of some potent charms at once make them Christians."²³ So the Doctor Sahib was kept at a distance until the outbreak of cholera in the city struck them with alarm and forced them to seek medicine from the Mission dispensary. For sometimes the cry was, 'give us dry medicine, as your liquids will break our caste.' But it was explained to them that the medicine prescribed was the very best for the cure of their disease. In this way, the missionaries had "often times most excellent opportunities of explaining and recommending the doctrines of our holy religion."²⁴ At Ajmer, a Hospital and Dispensary was started on 4th June 1872 as the Government Dispensary, although efficient and popular, was "inadequate" to the wants of such a large population. The average daily attendance in Mission hospital was more than hundred. But the real object of medical aid has been frankly stated by Dr. John Husband of Ajmer Mission: "Morning by morning, as the people are gathered, a few verses of Scriptures are read, and the poor ignorant sufferers are instructed in the Christian religion and directed to Him who is the Friend of sinners, and the saviour of the lost... my prayer is, that the God of missions may use this agency for the advancement of His own kingdom, that many, through means of it, may be gathered into His true Church."²⁵

Education

One of the most important means of conversion was education. As early as 1860 (August), Rev. Shoolbred, with the help of a converted Brahman Babu Chinta Ram, started a school in Nayanagar area of Beawar. Besides Bible, Hindi, Urdu and English was daily taught. In all 69 pupils were enrolled in the very first year—54 Hindu boys, 5 girls and 10 Muslims with an average attendance of 61. The school soon became a centre of popular attraction as children of all castes were admitted free. Within a year the attendance reached an average of more than a hundred boys and the progress of the school was steady and satisfactory. The result was that the Government School previously existing in the town was withdrawn in its favour.

By 1872, there were 4 Anglo-Vernacular Schools (Beawar, Ajmer, Nasirabad and Deoli) and 58 vernacular schools including 6 for girls with an average attendance of 1975. Not only evening schools but special steps to promote female education through Zenana visiting system and separate girl's school were undertaken. Towards the close of last year a general examination of all Presbyterian Mission village schools was held. More

than 800 appeared at the examination and Col. Brooke distributed the prizes. Admission of *mehrtars* or low castes to the school frequently led to withdrawal of high caste Hindus. Nominal fees were charged varying from one anna to eight annas a month. The principle of paying according to results, more for boys in higher classes than those in the lower classes, was introduced. The Mission School provided for the study of Bible from the very beginning through vernaculars and finally in English. Curiously enough, the baptism of a native affected the attendance of the boys in school which fell from hundred to below thirty.

Press

Preparation of Tracts and their distribution at nominal cost was one of the important activities of the Mission. As *marwari* was the popular language, Rev. Shoolbred with the assistance of a Jain Jati, prepared a small *marwari* tract which was printed at the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Surat. By 1864, the Mission installed its lithographic press at Beawar and appointed a qualified printer from Agra. Two thousand copies of a Tract of 56 pages—'Mukti-ro-Marg'—written by Shoolbred was printed followed by that of "Ten Commandments" prepared by the catechist Drynan. An enlarged edition of the *Sanjotri Mala*, containing the important parables with brief practical expositions—was published. A third Tract 'Uddesh: Mala' was also printed and circulated.

The Press soon became a very important source of spreading knowledge. *Paharas* or book of tables, weights, measures, Hindi *dohas*, a prayer and promise book for every day of the year, a Hindi *Almanac* from the pen of Robson were all printed and distributed to the public which stimulated interest in the Mission activities. The Press openly claimed. "We can assure those friends who favour us with their orders that they will be executed with neatness and despatch, and at terms as low as can be offered by any other Press". Urdu edition of "Old Testament Stories" and "Pushkar Mahatma Darpan" were in great demand among the literate section of the Indians inhabiting Ajmer district.

Thanks to the efforts of Major A. G. Davidson, Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer—Merwara, a large number of works in *marwari* was collected. No wonder that the missionary by studying these books on history and religion became well acquainted with the evils of caste system and orthodoxy of the Hindus. The mission Press earned such a reputation that the Rajputana Gazetter (weekly) was printed in their press from 1869 onwards.

Famine Relief

During the outbreak of famine in 1869, in Ajmer—Merwara, the Mission collected funds and organized famine relief work which relieved the sufferings of the people in no small measure. During the second week of June, the average daily attendance of labourers reached the figure of

2,473. Grain was also distributed daily to more than 1,600 people. The Mission incurred a debt of Rs. 9,614. Two tanks, one at Ajmer and the other at Ashapura were constructed for adequate water supply to the villagers.

Social Reforms

Another significant social work undertaken by the Missionaries was the orphanages. The first orphanage was started at Beawar in 1860 with only 4 boys and 8 girls which increased to 69 boys and 79 girls (a total of 148) twelve years after. The Mission looked after 408 orphans in that year. Needless to say, the orphanages were feeders for the spread of Christianity in the region. The criminal Mairs were changed from robbers to peaceful farmers and female infanticide was abolished among them.

Thus, in various ways the missionaries were endeavouring to expose to the natives the falsehood of the things in which they trust and at the same time to open their eyes to the "true knowledge that leads to everlasting life." Fortunately, the Indians since time immemorial were well aware of the "true knowledge that leads to ever lasting life. But the purpose of conversion was not fully realized.

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DEPOSITION OF ZALIM SINGH OF JHALAWAR (1896)
(A STUDY OF PUBLIC REACTION)

P. N. MATHUR

The deposition of Maharaj Rana Zalim Singh of Jhalawar in 1896 is one of the typical cases which brings to light how far matters could go if the personal relations between the rulers and the Political Agents were strained. The episode also alludes to the difficulties experienced by those princes who tried to assume independence in the internal affairs of their States. It also exposes how great a hoax were the treaties and other engagements made by the paramount power.

The public of Jhalawar reacted very strongly to the deposition of the Maharaj Rana and wired to Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, requesting, him to cancel the orders of the Government of India or else allow the four lakh subjects of the Maharaj Rana to go with him.¹ In fact when the A. G. G. was leaving Jhalawar after the formal deposition, thousands of people surrounded his carriage, wept and asked why their ruler was being taken away. They lay down in front of his carriage and it was with greatest difficulty that the sowars, by threatening them with spears made them get up.² The whole State went in mourning. The Maharaj Rana was deposed on charge of misgovernment and was reported as a tyrant. The press all over India also reacted very strongly to the deposition and many fundamental questions were raised which remained unanswered.

While this controversy was going on, the necessity of an organisation of princes was stressed by the Indian press all over the country. The *Indian Mirror* wrote, "The off hand manner in which the rights of Zalim Singh have been filched away makes it clear that the thrones of Indian princes rest on mines that can explode at any moment. It is time that they took combined action to make their position more secure. An organisation is needed to resist the frequent encroachments on their rights and liberties by tricky and intriguing politicals."³

His Highness Zalim Singh, Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar was born in 1864 and was the second son of Thakur Rai Singh, Chief of Wadhwan in Kathiawar and was adopted⁴ by Maharaj Rana, Prithvi Singh of Jhalawar, in 1875. He joined Mayo College, Ajmer on March 25th 1876 at the age of 12. His original name was Bakht Singh which was changed to Zalim Singh in June 1876.⁵ In June 1876 he left for Jhalawar for installation and returned in August 1876. The same year he went to attend the Imperial Assèmlage at Delhi under the personal charge of Major Loch, the then Principal, Mayo College, Ajmer.⁶

At Mayo College, Ajmer he showed promising signs of great intelligence which was proved by his successive record. He was reported as of

excitable disposition. His house master wrote in 1878. "Zalim Singh of Jhalawar works as steadily as his excitable disposition allows him Shows signs of great intelligence which must develop itself." In 1879 he passed all his examinations in second class and got prizes for riding and holiday task.⁸ From 1880 onwards he always passed in first class and was best in riding and holiday tasks.⁹ It is surprising to note that he was always getting a first class inspite of being inattentive in the class and his conduct for this reason in the class was therefore reported good and not very good. His conduct outside the class was always reported very good.¹⁰ In all he won 10 prizes at Mayo Collège, Ajmer for riding, Hindi, Mathematics and holiday tasks.¹¹

In March 1883 at the age of 19 he left Mayo College, Ajmer for Jhalawar. During his minority the administration of the State was being run by the Political Agents. In 1886 he was given powers but he soon came in conflict with the officers of the political department who wanted to impose officials on him in his own State. Zalim Singh however was bent upon having his own men. His independent nature deprived him of his independence, for in an year's time he was by an order of the Government of India, deprived of all powers.¹²

From 1887 onwards the Political Agents continued to run the administration of the State till 1894 when Zalim Singh regained his powers. On his restoration he set upon the task of improving the finances of his State for he inherited an empty treasury. He came as a succour to his subjects who were writhing under a lash of oppression inflicted by the direct rule of the British. He stretched forward to them the hand of succour and held over their head the shield of protection.¹³ His administration was well reported and there is nothing against him or his administration in the *Administration Reports of Rajputana* during the period. Col. Trevor has also recorded that he was pleased with him¹⁴

Zalim Singh soon afterwards came in conflict with Captain Evans Gordon, the Political Agent. Gordon was from the services and was an inexperienced officer being with the political department for only a year and half. It was believed that he got in the coveted service by influence rather than merit. He was completely ignorant of his own duties as also the customs of the princes.¹⁵ His integrity was questionable.¹⁶

Gordon was appointed in 1895 and at the same time, the establishment of the Agency was being re-organised consequent upon the assumption of full powers once again by the Maharaj Rana¹⁷ He therefore did not have those powers and paraphernalia which his predecessors enjoyed. The reduction in the Agency set up meant reduction in several privileges and facilities. In those days vain officers of the Political Department always suffered from the complex that they could up-set kingdom by a stroke of pen.¹⁸

Before Zalim Singh assumed full powers again in 1894 the direct British rule had created many vested interests. One Kunwar Bhawani Singh became an aspirant for the *Gaddi* and later became very friendly to Gordon. Zalim Singh's independent nature could not be to the liking of Gordon who was already envying his predecessors. The breach came when Zalim Singh refused to lend Gordon a carriage,¹⁹ as also declined to construct a new house for his wife in anticipation of her arrival from England.²⁰ Advantage was soon taken of this estrangement by the enemies of the Maharaj Rana, chief among them being Kr. Bhawani Singh. With their support Gordon embarked upon harassing the Maharaj Rana. He objected to his drawing any money from the treasury, disallowed him to send any petition to the A. G. G., arrested his Commander-in-chief and expelled him from the State along with a few other close friends and confidential advisers, forbade him from going to Calcutta and in a high handed manner, without formal orders from above, assumed the powers of the State and took assistance from Kr. Bhawani Singh. He also released the prisoners of Maharaj Rana and made him virtually a prisoner by expelling all his servants and not allowing him to see his friends or those whom he may like to consult.²¹ Gordon's villainy made Zalim Singh apprehensive of his own safety and he therefore employed a few armed Pathans to protect his person. Gordon gave colour to the action of Maharaj Rana and reported that the step has been taken to defy the government.²²

The Maharaj Rana thereafter petitioned to the A. G. G. that he be allowed to go to Calcutta and lay his case personally before the Viceroy. He was informed by Gordon in reply that the Viceroy will not receive him until he had cleared himself of all the charges that were against him.²³

The quarrel between Zalim Singh and Gordon became a common topic and was reported by the press. Mr. Crosthwaite, the then A. G. G. visited Jhalawar. Zalim Singh met the A. G. G. in his riding dress which also included a revolver belt with the weapon at its place. An additional charge was made that the Maharaj Rana was armed when he met the A. G. G. and a controversy arose on this point. *Pioneer*, the champion of European interests gave wide publicity and tried to create an impression that Zalim Singh had some sinister motive. *The Morning Post*, another English paper, however felt that the prince was innocent. There was nothing in the incident as bearing of arms on certain types of dresses was quite customary both in India and Europe. Zalim Singh, however, felt touchy about the publicity given to the incident and requested the Government of India to allow him to prosecute the *Pioneer* for libel. This would have given him an opportunity to expose Captain Gordon also.²⁴

At the interview itself Zalim Singh kept quiet. Gordon did all the talking and accusing. The Maharaj Rana had faith only in the Government of India which he thought will not deny justice to him.²⁵

From the beginning of the year 1896 it became obvious that something will happen in Jhalawar. The correspondent of the *Rajasthan Samachar* wrote, "Clouds over Jhalrapattan and it is not known when the storm will burst. The Political Department says Raja behaved badly. The Raja denies it. Great enmity exists between the Political Agent and the Raja."²⁶ The *Rajputana Gazette* wrote, "If he (Zalim Singh) is guilty of any crime why not have the matter thoroughly investigated. The Raja did not fear the Political Agent nor did he flatter him or consult him on State affairs." The paper sarcastically wrote further "A Raja to get on properly with his Political Agent should go to his house every day to *Salam* him. On occasions he should drink two to three bottles of brandy with him. He should give him two days shikar a week and place a good riding horse at his disposal. When the Raja is ill he should send for the Agency surgeon. There is no need to take his medicines, but he should be called in to please the Political Agent. If he does all this, the Political Agent will report well of him, no matter how bad the administration may be." The paper also pointed out that the Political Agent was angry because the Raja objected to his interference.²⁷ The *Moin-ul-Hind*, Ajmer reported that the Raja would come to grief and believed that the Raja would be deposed and Kr. Bhawani Singh shall be installed.²⁸

While the controversy was gaining momentum the editor of the *Rajputana Gazette* received a communication from the Foreign Department that if need be a Commission might be appointed to inquire into the matter. The paper wrote that if that be done, Lord Elgin's government would have shown great justice. It further suggested certain conditions and desired that no Rajputana Official be appointed on the Commission, Europeans and Natives should have parity on it, the Raja be allowed to engage a counsel for defence, Gordon should not be allowed to remain in Jhalawar, European members should be old and god-fearing and up in political matters, native members should be princes and not government servants etc. The paper also complained that owing to the presence of troops in Jhalawar prices had risen considerably.²⁹

Zalim Singh was deposed in March 1896. The correspondent of the *Moin-ul-Hind* anticipated the news. He wrote that the Raja would leave his state in a few days. He had been told that he may return to his native country of Kathiawar or go where he chooses.³⁰ The *Rajputana Gazette* also pointed out³¹ that if the Viceroy were to take an opposite view to Mr. Crosthwaite, the prestige and power of the political department would be gone.

The news of the deposition was flashed by the *Rajasthan Samachar*. The paper termed the proceedings as most discreditable to the Government of India and observed "But what can be done? This is the misfortune of the country."³² The *Rajputana Gazette* in a special supplement of the paper wrote "The Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar has been deposed. The decision

went in favour of Europeans in the political department. If it had not gone so, the Rajas of India would have taken to treating their Political Agents with disrespect". The paper however felt that the deposition was unwarranted and pointed out that several Rajas have been treated unjustly. The Raja of Bharatpur has been deposed, the Raja of Patna shot his wife and committed suicide because his Political Agent ill treated him, the Government is down on Indore. The paper further demanded that the whole of Jhalawar case be placed before the public so that the facts were known to everybody and observed "If this is not done the Indian chiefs will fear that the treaties existing between them and the government will be laid aside, and this will make them regard their Political Agents with suspicion."³³

Commenting on the deposition, the *Rajputana Malwa Times* had this to place on record as a warning "They (princes) must now be more convinced than ever that their position is at best a precarious one, that they rule only on sufferance. They are doubtless jealous of their rights and privileges but they are powerless to enforce or maintain them. In the fighting days of East India Company, several of the powerful chiefs of India held pocket boroughs and without letting their business be known returned a number of members to Parliament. The experiment can not be now repeated. But they can establish an association of their own, a kind of defence league, and they ought to support a Political Agency in England, which will represent their cases in all their bearings to Parliament and to the British people. A powerful organisation is needed to protect and defend the rights of Indian Chiefs to guard against intriguing Politicals and to hold them safe from the machinations of that secret bureaucratic Foreign office."³⁴

Reviewing the whole sequence of events, this newspaper pointed out that the deposition had its origin in the jealousy of certain individuals who were aspirants for the throne and then in the displeasure which the independence of Zalim Singh provoked in the breast of the Political Agent. The paper also pointed out that the event gave rise to a feeling of loathing and indignation from one end of the country to the other. The Indian Princes of course maintained a discreet silence, for the fate of Zalim Singh was a sufficient warning to them to desist from treading on the toes of politicals who to all intents and purposes were the final arbiters of their destiny.

Coming to the charge of misgovernment the paper asked why definite cases were not mentioned and pointed out that Zalim Singh tried to rule justly and well and as long as the word gratitude occurred in the language spoken in Jhalawar, his name should be cherished and his memory should endure and asked why had Jhalawar gone into mourning for a tyrant? Further referring to the charge of misgovernment the paper challenged the righteous government to search their hearts and say whether misgovernment is not a crime of which they cannot be innocent like an unborn baby

and observed—"Their (British India) subjects are groaning under a load of poverty which beggars all description and the life blood of the country is being drained away. If this is not misgovernment, we would like to know what it is. Those who live in glass houses would do well not to throw stones at their neighbours."

The paper also pointed out that when Zalim Singh took charge in 1894, the treasury had only two lakhs of rupees but in the two succeeding years of his reign the state of things altered much for the better, the treasury was full and the State prospered. At the time of deposition, the treasury had twentyfour lakhs of rupees.³⁵

Zalim Singh throughout pleaded for a hearing by the Viceroy and even after his deposition requested for a Commission of enquiry³⁶ but he was deposed on the private recommendation of the Government of India which was indeed very gratifying to the Indian Foreign office.³⁷ From the above it will be seen that the charge of misgovernment would have completely broken down before a Commission of enquiry.

The question was raised in the Parliament also and it was asked why the Raja had been deposed without full inquiry. The Secretary of State for India replied that the Raja was not fit to govern and that he (the Secretary) was unwilling to interfere with the privileges of the Government of India.³⁸

The whole affair from the beginning to the end was the doing of Captain Gordon who took pleasure in injuring the young prince (to vent his spite). Zalim Singh was given an allowance of rupees one lakh a year from the State revenues and was allowed to reside at Benares.

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LITERARY AND ASTRONOMICAL PROGRESS IN JAIPUR DURING THE REIGN OF SAWAI JAI SINGH

DR. R.G. SHARMA

Jaipur became a great sanctuary of Sanskrit learning during the 18th century. The rulers of the State had a genuine love for learning. Poets and learned men were brought by them from distant places, given jagirs and were kept here with great honour. The State *Pothikhana* with its rich collection of manuscripts relating to diverse subjects bears an eloquent testimony to the Jaipur rulers' contribution to the Sanskrit studies. The reign of the Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh (1699-1743) was the golden age of the literary and astronomical progress not only in Rajasthan but in the whole of India. A galaxy of learned men always adorned his court. In this connection the names of Sri Krishna Bhatt, Harihar, Hare Krishna Misra, Maya Ram Misra Gaud, Ratnakar Bhatt, Brij Nath Bhatt Dixit, Janardan Bhatt Goswami and Chakrapani Goswami deserve mention. The contribution of these scholars to the cultural enrichment of the state can hardly be over-estimated. Under the king's patronage, numerous works were written in Sanskrit on *Dharma-Sastra*, *Tantra-Sastra*, philosophy, *Kavya* (Literature) and astronomy. Here we propose to give the historical and cultural importance of some of these texts, published and unpublished.

(1) Works on Dharmasastra

Several works on the subject of *Dharmasastra* were written under Sawai Jai Singh's orders. Pt. Ratnakar Bhatt wrote *Jai Singha Kalpadrum* which is an important text of *Dharmasastra*. In the preface of this book,

the author gives a brief introduction of his patron Sawai Jai Singh. Jai Singh is said to have performed several sacrifices (*yajnas*) viz., the *Paundrik*, *Vajpeya*, *Jyotistom* and *Sarvatomukh*. The author also describes the gifts of gold and land made by the Maharaja Jai Singh in the various places of pilgrimage (Tirthas).¹

Jai Singh Kalpadrum contains 19 *stabhkas* (chapters). It deals primarily with *Tithi-Nirnaya* (the fixing of the day). Though *Tithi-Nirnaya* is the subject of astronomy, it is also related to Dharmasastra which prescribes the rites and acts that have to be performed on a particular *Tithi*. The text describes in detail the method for fixing the *Tithi*, *Paksa*, *Masa*, *Ayana*, *Ritu* and *Samvatsar*. It is an important work among the *Dharmasastra* works dealing with *Tithi-Nirnaya*

Mayaram Misra Gaud was another important *Dharmasastra* writer of Sawai Jai Singh's court. He belonged to Malpura, a village in the former Jaipur State and served as a scribe (*Lipikar*) for some time. The texts copied by him bear his name as a *Lipikar* at the end.² Mayaram Misra was well-versed in Vedic rituals and *Dharmasastra*. He was called to the *Asvamedh* sacrifice by Sawai Jai Singh. He wrote several works on *Dharmasastra*, especially on its *Vyavahar* section (Justice & Law) which is more important than the *Achara* and *Prayaschitt* sections. His works³ are:-

- (1) *Vyavahara-Nirnaya*
- (2) *Vyavahara-Nirnaya-sar*
- (3) *Mitakshara-sar*
- (4) *Vyavaharang-Smriti-Sarvasva*

Vyavahara-Nirnaya is an important work based on the *Vyavahara* section of the *Yajnavalkya* smriti and its *vijnanesvara* commentary. The views of Narad, Vishnu and other *Smritis* are also profusely quoted in it. The work is intended to guide the ruler in the proper dispensation of justice, on which depends the well-being of the community. The author lays down elaborate judicial procedure for punishing the offenders. The author prescribes that the king should appoint 2, 3, 5 or 7 learned Brahmins as his *Sabhasads* for expounding the law.

Vyavaharang sm riti-Sarvasva, another *Dharmasastra* work of Maya Ram Misra deals with judicial procedure and titles of law. The other two works of the author represent an abridgement of the two works, *Vyavahar-Nirnaya* and *Mitaksra* commentary on *Yajnavalkya Smriti*.

Sri Harilal was another writer on *Dharmasastra* who enjoyed Sawai Jai Singh's patronage. He wrote '*Pratistha-Chandrika*',⁴ a text on *Dharmasastra*.

Works on religion and Philosophy

Among the writers on religion and philosophy, Harekrishna Misra deserves mention. He was invited to the horse-sacrifice by Sawai Jai Singh. On the completion of the sacrifice he was awarded the title of 'Prad-Vivaka' by the king. Prad-vivak means a Judge. He wrote a work on *Vaishnavism* called '*Vaidik-Vaishnava Sadachar*'.⁵ The work prescribes a code of conduct for the followers of the Vedic Vaishnava sect. The author praises the *Mitra-Marg* enunciated in the *Srimad Bhagwat* and requires the true Vaishnavas to follow it. *Mitra Marg* is said to be two fold, viz., (i) *Tantra-Pradhan* (one with the predominance of *Tantra*) and (ii) *Veda-Pradhan* (one with the predominance of Vedas). The *Veda-Pradhan* Vaishnava sect is declared superior to the *Tantra-Pradhan* sect. This account shows that some features of *Tantra* were assimilated in the Vaishnava sect during the period. The author advocates for a complete identity of the two principal deities of the Hinduism; viz., Vishnu and Shiva. The book is important, as it tells us about the doctrinal controversies of Vaishnavism current in the age of the author.

Brijnath Dixit, another notable writer of the age, wrote, at the orders of the King, a commentary called *Brahma-Sūtra-Anu-Bhāshya-Vṛitthi* on the *Anu-Bhāshya* of Vallabhacharya's Brahmasutras. This is a notable work on Vedant philosophy. Another work on Vedant philosophy was written by Sri Mahidhara. This is called *Ram-Gita*.⁶

Among the writers on *Tantra*, a mention may be made of Janardana Bhatt Goswami and Chakrapani Goswami. These two Goswamis were descendants from the illustrious family of Pt. Shivanand Goswami, settled at Mahapura, near Jaipur. Janardana Bhatt Goswami was a great scholar of *Tantra-Sastra*. He wrote two works on *Tantra* viz; (1) *Mantra-Chandrika* and (2) *Lalitarcha-Pradipika*. Both the works are unpublished.⁷ *Mantra Chandrika* is a commentary on Srinivas Goswami's *Shivarchana-Chandrika*, an important text on *Tantra*. It has 12 Chapters which contain Mantras for the worship of Ganapati, Devi, Krishna, Surya and Shiva gods. Janardana Bhatt's another work on *Tantra* is '*Lalitarcha-Pradipika*'. It prescribes the *Tantric* mode of worshipping goddess Lalita, another form of Tripuri Sundari, the popular deity of the Tantrikas. Chakra-Pani Goswami wrote *Panchayatana-Prakash* a work on *Tantra*. It describes in detail the mode of worshipping the deities, viz. Ganesha, Surya, Krishna, Shiva and Sakti. The works reflect on the reviving popularity of the *Tantric* practices in Jaipur during the author's age.

Haridhara, another notable scholar of Sawai Jai Singh's times wrote an authentic history of his own illustrious family of the learned Tailanga Brahmana. The work is called '*Kula-Prabandha*'. It brings to light the literary achievements of the author's family.

One of the most outstanding literary figures of Sawai Jai Singh's court was Sri Krishna Bhatt. He was a great poet in Sanskrit and Hindi. He was brought to Jaipur by Sawai Jai Singh in connection with the Horse Sacrifice. The titles of Ramrasacharya and Kavi-Kalanidhi were conferred upon him by his patron Sawai Jai Singh. He was a great literary genius. He wrote a beautiful lyrical poem called 'Ram-Gita'⁸ in the style of Jayadeva's Gita-Govinda. He also wrote a remarkable work on prosody called 'Vritta-Muktavali'. It describes the various meters, not only of Sanskrit but also of Hindi and Brijbhasa. He also gives illustrative poems composed by himself.⁹ He is also said to have written "Vedant-Panch-Vimsati", a work on Vedant Philosophy and Sarasa-rasavada, probably a work on rasa.

The poet's most important work is however Ishavaravilasa-Kavya. It is a historical poem dealing with the history of the Kachhava dynasty of the Amber (Jaipur.) It is an important contemporary source of the history of Jaipur during the reigns of Sawai Jai Singh and his son Isvari Singh. This work has been published in the series called the Rajasthan Puratana Granthmala by Rajasthan Puratattva Mandir. Bhatt Mathuranathji has edited the text carefully. He has also written Vilasini commentary in Sanskrit on it. In this commentary he has added useful material with a view to providing a better historical and literary perspective. In the preface, he has pointed out the historical importance of the poem. He also gives a brief topical analysis of the work in 14 chapters. He has also added a comprehensive note on Maharaja Mansingh I. A detailed life-sketch of the author Sri Krishna Kavi and his works is also given.¹⁰

Sri Gopal Narayan Bahura has added a comprehensive note on the life and achievements of Ishavarisingh, son of Sawai Jai Singh, the hero of Ishavar-Vilas-Kavya.

Though it is a literary production, its account is accurate to a considerable extent. Its great historical importance lies in the fact that it conclusively proves the performance of the Asvamedha sacrifice at Jaipur by Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh. This Asvamedha sacrifice was the last of such sacrifices performed by the Hindus from very ancient times. The evidence of this work puts an end to the controversy¹¹ regarding the historicity of the tradition about this yajna current in Benares and Jaipur.

Among the Jain poets and writers who flourished during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh, a mention may be made of Maha-Pandit Todarmal, Khushal Chand, Shivram Mannalal, Nandlal, Jethamal Malla and Sri Kashinath.

Astronomical Works

Sawai Jai Singh was an earnest researcher into astronomy. He gave such an impetus to astronomical studies as had not been known in India since the days of Brahmagupta in the 7th century A.D. He constructed

the five astronomical observatories in Delhi, Ujjain, Mathura, Benares and Jaipur. These observatories are, in the words of Tod, 'monuments which irradiate this dark epoch of the history of India.'¹⁹ Sawai Jai Singh tried to revive Hindu astronomy but he did not attach himself to any particular school. He studied the Muslim and European methods objectively. He invited two European priests from Chandranagar to Jaipur for astronomical studies. He also called Andre Strobel from Germany. Don Pedro De Sylva, an astronomer lived at Jaipur.¹³

One of Sawai Jai Singh's most eminent astronomers was Samrat Jagannath. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. At the order of the king, he translated into Sanskrit some astronomical works from Arabic and Persian. His works are :-

- (1) *Samrat-sidhant*
- (2) *Sidhant-Sar-Kaustubha* and
- (3) *Rekha-ganita*.

Samrat sidhant is a Sanskrit translation of the astronomical Arabic work *Migasti*.¹⁴ It mentions the various theories relating to the formation and observation of Sine.

*Sidhant Sar-Kaustubha*¹⁵ is translation of Claudius Ptolemy's *Almagest* (Astronomical Tables) from its Arabic version. Prof. J.M. Ghosha in his article '*Ambher-Jaipur ruling princes as patrons of letters*' has failed to distinguish between these two works. He has wrongly considered them to be identical. In fact, both the works are separate works. *Samrat Sidhant* is translation of the Arabic work '*Migast*' while *Siddhant-Sar-Kaustubha* is a translation of the Ptolemy's *Almagest*.¹⁶

*Rekha-Ganita*¹⁷ is a translation of the whole of Euclid's geometry from Arabic into Sanskrit. It deals with easy and solid geometry. Some chapters also deal with the theory of Numbers.

Kewalram was another great astronomer of Sawai Jai Singh's reign. In recognition of his proficiency in astronomy, he was conferred upon the title of *Jyotish Rai*. He translated Logarithmic tables into Sanskrit which is known as *Vibhag-Sarini*. He also prepared *Dring Paksha-Sarini* and *Dring Paksha* on the basis of De la Hire's tables. He also prepared *Tara-Sarini* on the basis of astronomer Ulugh Beg's work. He also prepared in Sanskrit Logarithmic tables from a French work on astronomy. This is called *Mithya-Jiva-Chhaya Sarini*. He also prepared *Jaya Vinod Sarini* dealing with the *Tithis* and planets etc.

Nayansukhopadhyaya, another astronomer of the age translated in Sanskrit the Arabic work-*Batul Ayus's Ukar*. It contains 3 chapters on geometry. Two more works on astronomy namely, *yantra-raj-rachna Prakash* and '*Jai Singh-Karika*' are attributed to Sawai Jai Singh.

We thus find that the astronomical progress during Sawai Jai Singh's reign was a wonder of the age. Jai Singh, in the words of Garrett, 'issued a revised star catalogue, reformed the Calendar and produced a set of tables of the Sun, Moon and planets of greatly increased accuracy.'¹⁸

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12. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
13. Cf. G. R. Kaye, 'The Astronomical observatories of Jaipur', pages 5-7. See, also Kedarnath Sharma. 'Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh's works & observatories' Hindi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Patrika III, p. 4.
14. ग्रन्थ सिद्धान्त समाज सम्राट् रचयति स्फुटं, तुष्टयं श्री जयसिंहस्य जगन्नायाह्वयः कृती अरवी भाषाया ग्रन्थो मिजास्ती नामकः स्थितः गणकानां सुबोवाय गोर्वाण्या प्रकटीकृतः ।
15. The Manuscript is in the Jaipur Pothikhana.
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18. The Jaipur observatory and its builder, p. 20.

GOVERNMENT-MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL
CONTROVERSY IN RAJASTHAN

DR. G. C. VERMA

Modern education in Rajasthan, as in other parts of India, was introduced and imparted through two agencies : (1) Government and (2) Private. Of the latter the Christian Missions played an important role as they were the pioneers in opening educational institutions throughout the country.

In the earlier stages of these missionary activities, the attitude of the East India Company towards them was generally favourable and sympathetic. But a change became necessary as soon as the Company gained political power with the grant of Diwani by the treaty of Allahabad in 1765. The Company then became "conscious of the political importance of maintaining strict religious neutrality and this realisation made it abandon all its earlier inclinations towards proselytisation and to lose all its former sympathy for missionary enterprise."¹ The necessity of a strict adherence to this policy was emphasised in the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Court of Directors issued a despatch, dated the 7th September 1808, declaring strict religious neutrality and refusing to lend authority to any attempt to propagate the Christian religion.² This policy assumed greater importance and became more imperative after 1818 when Lord Hastings entered into treaty relations with Indian States which made the British the supreme political power in India. A change in the Company's educational policy then became inevitable. Accordingly the Government adopted a policy of strict neutrality by which no religious teaching was to be allowed in Government schools. This adversely affected the educational programme of the various Christian Missions in India who did not like the purely secular education given through the Government schools. They, therefore, resented the opening of new schools by the Government. In adopting this attitude they were greatly influenced by the Despatch of 1854 which had led them to believe that they would ultimately provide for all the educational needs of the country. In this belief they were sorely disappointed, for during the post-Despatch period they had to relegate their educational enterprise to a minor place in the educational life of the country.

The rising of 1857 apparently shattered the educational programmes of the Missionaries. It created a strong section of the people in England who believed that "an important cause of the disturbances was the policy of open encouragement to mission enterprise which had been adopted in an increasing measure since 1813 and particularly by the Despatch of 1854"³ Consequently it was argued that all State assistance should be summarily withdrawn from the Mission schools. Fortunately for the Missionaries this view was not accepted by the Government, but the apprehensions created by the Mutiny did succeed in making the officials cautious in their dealings with the Missionaries and strained the relations between them to a considerable extent.

The policy of the Education Departments in the various provinces between 1858 and 1878 was, therefore, characterised by an unsympathetic attitude towards Mission schools. Consequently in place of the amity and

goodwill which so far existed between the Government and the Missionaries, there now arose a bitter rivalry between them. It was under such circumstances that a General Conference on Foreign Missions was held in London in October, 1878, wherein were discussed the unwholesome effects arising out of a purely secular education in Government schools and colleges. The Conference, therefore, decided to urge the British Government in India "to retire as soon as possible from the direct control of higher education altogether."⁴ It was also decided to send "a representation to the Government backed by those who have influence and authority" urging upon the Government to confine itself "to the regulation and encouragement of education without entering the field directly itself."⁵ This decision of the Conference had far-reaching effects on the educational policy of the Christian Missions in India.

The Presbyterian Mission in Rajputana seems to have taken a cue from the above decision when Reverend Dr. Shoolbred, Superintendent of Mission schools, Beawar, very bitterly opposed the opening of a Government school at Masuda in June, 1881. His main plea was that there was an agreement between the Government and the Missionaries that "no rival school should be established in any place where either a Government or Mission school already existed."⁶ Since there was already a Mission school at Masuda, he attributed base motives to F. L. Reid, the Inspector of Schools, Ajmer-Merwara, who had opened the Masuda School. He wrote letters after letters against Reid to the Commissioner, who was *ex-officio* Director of Public Instruction, Ajmer-Merwara, and to the Chief Commissioner and the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana. As these letters throw a flood of light on the bitter controversy that existed between the Scotch Missionary and the English Inspector of Schools, and as they reveal the monopolistic attitude of the Missionaries in the field of education, they are very important. An attempt has, therefore, been made here to give a few extracts from these letters which show the unwholesome aspect of the Missionary Educational Enterprise in Rajasthan during the last quarter of the nineteenth century,

In his letter to L. S. Saunders, the Commissioner, Dr. Shoolbred referred to Reid as an "interloper", characterised his conduct as "intrigue" accused him of "poaching in another's preserve" and charged him of "cajolery" and requested the Commissioner "to stamp them with an authoritative veto." The Reverend Father referred to the contravention of rules and gave a concealed threat of making it "known in India and at home to call down a storm of indignation on all concerned."⁷ In his reply the Commissioner deprecated any idea of opposition between Mission and Government education and assured the Missionaries that Government had no intention of superseding Mission or other existing schools.⁸ Not satisfied with this reply, the Reverend Father showed an indecent haste in

submitting a Memorial to Lord Ripon when the latter visited Ajmer in November, 1881.

In their Memorial, submitted on behalf of the Presbyterian Mission Conference, Dr. Shoolbred and Rev. J. Grey referred to "the persistent acts of hostility on the part of the educational officers of the district" and charged them of "sedulously trying to turn the people of other villages against the Mission schools and tempering with and holding out inducements to their teachers to desert the Mission." They accused Mr. Reid of not only not recommending an increased grant-in-aid to the Mission High School, Beawar, but also of seeking to ruin the other Mission Schools." In the end, the Mission Fathers requested His Excellency, to use their words, "to take such measures as will at once and for ever put an end to the unseemly and injurious rivalry to which your memorialists are subjected."⁹

This Memorial is an important landmark in the history of Missionary Educational Enterprise in Rajasthan. Its importance lies in the fact that whereas it tries to acquaint us with the hardships and hindrances from which, the Missionaries thought, they suffered, it also gives us an insight into the ways and means they adopted in achieving their ends. To serve their purpose they often twisted facts and interpreted them in their own ways. They also criticised Government officials and often impured to them "dishonest motives". No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Reid, the Inspector of Schools, Ajmer-Merwara, who was also the Principal, Government College, Ajmer, considered "the whole tone of the Memorial monstrous and calculated to arouse an utterly wrong idea of the case."¹⁰

In his letter to Mr. Saunders, the Commissioner and Director of Public Instruction, Ajmer-Merwara, Reid referred to the discrepancies and contradictions in Dr. Shoolbred's statements and pointed out how in one of his letters the Reverend Father once praised the Thakur of Masuda for convening a Panchayat in which it was agreed to put out of caste all such who joined the Government school. But a few days latter the same Reverend Father wrote complaining that the Thakur was using his influence to force the people into it. Reid also pointed out how both Major Repton and Mr. White spoke very lightly of the Mission schools. About the Beawar Mission School Reid held a poor opinion and considered it as "a disgraceful failure." And yet the Reverend Father tried to mislead the Government by always referring it as a High School, which, at that time, it was not. In concluding his letter Reid, therefore wrote, "After 21 years' fair unimpended trial the Missionaries have failed in their trust, and now they should not complain if their interests are subordinated to the more important interests of the people."¹¹ About the merits of the Memorial Saunders wrote to Col. C. M. Walter, the Chief Commissioner, "In my opinion there are no grounds for believing the statements made in

that Memorial as to Mr. Reid's animus and general conduct and I can truly state that in the numerous conversations I have had with Mr. Reid on the subject, he has never shown any but the fairest spirit in dealing with this subject, and I regret much that the gentlemen of the Mission should have accepted as facts much hearsay evidence which they have quoted in the Memorial which is far removed from the truth."¹²

I have given above a few extracts from the lengthy correspondence that passed between the Missionary Fathers and the Government officials regarding educational matters. Nine decades have since passed. This period is long enough for us to have an objective and dispassionate appraisal of the Missionary Educational Enterprise in Rajasthan. There cannot be two opinions about the debt which this province owes to the Missionaries for opening vernacular and village schools, setting up orphanages, establishing dispensaries, starting the first printing press and organising famine relief work. These and many other Christian activities for social work and village uplift are too well-known to be mentioned here. What, however, is not, or very little, known is the tactics the Missionaries often employed in achieving their ends. If in the year of grace 1968 they can, after two decades of India's independence, adopt questionable means to tempt people to their faith, they could, with greater force and energy, employ the same and even worse temptations and means a century ago when the British were masters of this country.

The extracts given above show how the Missionaries often twisted facts and departed from truth to achieve their objectives. There was no wonder, therefore, if they resented the opening of Government schools where only secular education was given. And if they could oppose the establishment of Government schools, they could with greater force and vehemence, resent the opening of schools by other private agencies. That may perhaps be one of the reasons why we do not come across any private school in Rajasthan till 1881. It may be a mere coincidence but it is a fact that the first private school in Rajasthan—besides the Mission schools—was the Dayanand Ashram School opened at Ajmer in 1881. The Government-Missionary controversy perhaps induced the other private agencies also to come to the field and open schools. This controversy is, therefore, an important episode in the educational history of this province.

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IMPOSITION OF NAWAB FAIZ ALI ON KOTA STATE

MOHAN PRAKASH MATHUR

Maharao Ram Singh's system of personal Government failed, due to his weak and indolent character, and this had been one of the main causes of the state's bad condition. At the time of his death in 1866, the State expenditure exceeded income by four lakhs, and debts were over 27 lakhs.¹

The Political Agent to begin with reported favourably on the conduct and work of the new ruler. The new ruler effected economy, both in army and establishments. However, shatroosal Singh, was depicted as an addict to "strong drinks" and "sensual pleasures"²

In subsequent years, i.e. from 1869, the Agent to the Governor General stated about the incapacity of ruler, the deplorable conditions of the finances, bad State of law and order, general demoralisation of administration, and consequent impoverished condition of peasantry. He wrote : "The condition of Kota is represented by the Political Agent Haraotee, to be deplorable. The chief a drunkard. Ministers, corrupt, justice unknown, the finances ruined, and crime rampant. Such a state of things cannot continue much longer without entailing upon Government a heavy moral responsibility."³

The Governor General in Council after perusal of A.G.Gs. reports wrote "That the condition of Kota being now such that it is unable to fulfil its obligations. His Excellency in Council considers some reform in administration of that State to be absolutely imperative, and desires, therefore, that you will no longer postpone the submission of your view",⁴ as to how the affairs can be reformed.

The A G.G. Rajputana, thereupon submitted that "the administration matters are going from bad to worse." Therefore, he wrote "nothing short of a radical measure on the part of Paramount Power can now retrieve the fortunes of the Kota State. In absence of a protecting Paramount Power the natural remedy of the subjects of a state misgoverned and disorganized as Kota is, would lie in rebellion or in revolution of the palace. And it appears to me that, however, earnestly desirous we may be (and really are) to refrain from every avoidable interference in the affairs of our Native protected chieftainships, still we cannot in an

instance like that of Kota ignore the obligations which our position as the Paramount and Protective power imposes on us.”⁵

The A. G. G. maintained that there could be three alternatives; (a) Appointment of a British Officer with powers to administer the State (b) The administration may be given to a Council elected from amongst the Durbar Officials (c) A Native Minister armed with defined powers and support of the Government may be appointed (d) The Political Agent vested with executive administrative power may directly look after the administration.

The A.G.G. suggested “I, myself, am definitely of opinion that, as a rule, it is preferable to place the actual working and details of the administration of our protected states in the hands of the natives, and reserve our European Officers for the more general and legitimate duties of Political Agents.”⁶ The A. G. G. feared that in appointing English Officers there were following risks.

1. That ‘we force growth’, and this perhaps in a direction which the State itself would not have followed under average normal conditions of Native rule.

2. That when eventually the State is restored to native rule, there is danger that “artificial growth raised by us” will either be sapped at the roots by hostile native officials, or itself, slowly die of inaction. And, therefore, felt that the slowest social and political growth, if natural and permanent is preferable to any exotic growth, however, rapid, showy, and even marvellous it may be, but which in the nature of things cannot last.

3. Transference of direct power and management to an English Officer is, perhaps, in some instances liable to misapprehension from a political point of view.

In view of the above, the name of Nawab Feyz Ali Khan was recommended. The Governor General in Council accepted this suggestion. Accordingly Col. Pelly Officiating Political Agent, appointed Feyz Ali Khan, as Minister of the Kota State, by an order dated 5th Feb. 1874. His Highness succumbed to the appointment of this new Minister, and himself became a mere pensioner in his own State, the real power of administration vested in the Nawab, subject to the supervision and control of the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana.

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MISS PERIN NAROJI—ACTIVITIES OF A FORGOTTEN REVOLUTIONARY

DR. JAGDISH CHANDRA

Towards the close of the 19th century, the Indian revolutionaries had set up centres in foreign countries for carrying on political propaganda. The purpose of this propaganda was to secure foreign help in the struggle for India's freedom. These centres gave them the additional advantage of carrying on their activities without any fear of the persecution by the Indian Government. One of the earliest Indians to organise such activities was Shyamji Krishna Varma, a disciple of Swami Dayananda. Other associates of Shyamji were Madam Cama, Sardar Singh, Rana of of Lambdi in Saurashtra and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Madam Cama and Sardar Singh Rana lived in Paris. Madam Cama left India for Europe in 1902 and dedicated her life to the cause of Indian freedom by means of revolutionary propaganda in Europe and America and thus carried the reputation as the Mother of the Indian revolution. Miss Perin Naroji, a young woman of extremist views and a granddaughter of Dada Bhai Naroji, also joined this group of revolutionaries in Europe. She came under the influence of Madam Cama while she was staying with the latter at a boarding house in Paris in 1907.¹ Miss Perin inherited patriotic zeal from her grandfather and soon became an active associate of the revolutionaries. Secret and Confidential Reports of the Intelligence Department reveal some valuable information about the role played by her in organising the revolutionary activities abroad.²

Born in 1890 Miss Perin Naroji was an accomplished and intelligent girl. Her father Ardeshir Dada Bhai Naroji, a doctor in the service of the Kutch State, died quite young and her widow mother Vira Bai was employed as a companion to the younger daughter of His Highness the Rao of Kutch and when the princess was married to the Rajkumar of Sirohi, she accompanied her there.³ Vira Bai used to be occasionally relieved by her daughter Miss Nergez, an elder sister of Miss Perin, who was also said to be a lady of advanced political views. The education of the family was undertaken by their grandfather who was then residing in England. Miss Nergez the eldest sister returned to India in 1907 and joined her mother at Sirohi. The other two sisters, Miss Perin and Goshi stayed in Europe, the former in Paris to study French and the latter at Oxford in England.⁴

The activities of Miss Perin came to the notice of the Intelligence Department for the first time in March 1910 when she accompanied V.D. Savarkar from Paris to London and was present at the time of latter's arrest at the Victoria station. While in London Miss Perin made herself

conspicuous at a dinner held at the occasion of Jamshedji Naroji⁵ on March 21st, 1910, by refusing to stand up when the King's health was drunk.⁶ On March 24th she was present at Bow Street Police Court when Savarkar was brought up on remand, and her conduct made it clear that she was in active sympathy with the revolutionary party. She hailed Savarkar with greetings of *Bande Matram* and other revolutionary epithets and was apparently well known to most of the Indians present. According to the Intelligence Reports she also visited V.D. Savarkar in jail on April 10, 1910 giving the name of Miss P. Ardeshir.⁷

On her return to Paris she plunged into the extremist activities alongwith Madam Cama, Lala Hardayal, Virendra Chattopadhyaya and other revolutionaries. Being well versed in the French language, she acted as an interpreter and also served as a link between the Indian revolutionaries and the leading French Politicians and journalists. It was largely due to her efforts that the French press could be briefed and French public opinion mobilised in favour of Savarkar's right of assylum in France.⁸

Egyptian revolutionaries in Europe had also made common cause with the Indian revolutionaries.⁹ Miss Perin alongwith her elder sister Miss Goshi attended the Egyptian National Conference held at Brussels on 24th Sept., 1910 where at a social gathering she entertained the company by singing some national songs.¹⁰ In another joint meeting of Egyptian and Indian Nationalists at Paris on 2nd October 1910 which was attended by Madam Cama, S.R. Rana, V.V.S. Ayar and V. Chattopadhyaya, Miss Perin took a vow that on her return to India she would devote her life to the revolutionary movement and acquaint the ignorant masses with the tyranny and oppression of the British rule.¹¹

In October, 1910 it was reported by the Intelligence Department that Miss Perin and others were being instructed in the manufacture of bombs by a Polish engineer named Mr. Bronjevski. They used to assemble at the residence of Madam Jordan, a Polish lady, living at 10, *rue campagne* where the lessons in chemistry and bomb making were said to be given.

On 14th December, 1910 Miss Perin and her sister Miss Goshi left Paris for India. They were seen off by Madam Cama, Mr. and Mrs. Rana, Virendra Chattopadhyaya, Govind Amin and others. At the moment of their departure Madam Cama waved the tricolour, the Indian flag of Independence, which she carried with her on all occasions.¹²

After Miss Perin's return to India, her activities were constantly watched and her correspondence with Madam Cama and other Indian revolutionaries censored by the Intelligence Department. She, however, continued to correspond regularly, sometimes in cipher with Madam

Cama. It was reported at this time by the Intelligence Department that Miss Perin had sought a job in the Bikaner State as a tutor guardian of the princess. The Political Department of Government of India strongly objected to her stay at Bikaner and asked the Maharaja to dispense with her services. It was feared that the employment of such an extremist in a native State might have grave consequences. One of the officers of the Political Department reported, on the 19th April, 1911: "I would suggest that she (Miss Perin) will be likely to press her opinions on the young Kumari of Bikaner and this be possibly of the objects aimed at." Thus Miss Perin's decision to join service in a ruling house of Rajasthan was foiled by the Political Department. In the context of her past revolutionary career and the prevailing international and national conditions, the British government considered her to be a *persona-non grata* in any Princely State.

A deeper look into the aims and objectives of the Indian revolutionaries and their mode of working could perhaps throw some light on the motives behind Miss Perin's efforts to secure a job in a Princely State, at a time when the international situation was very grave and the First World War imminent. The Indian revolutionaries had already established contacts with Germany and its allies to secure their help in case of an open revolt against the British. Miss Perin belonged to this group of revolutionaries and had an access to their innermost circles. Her mission in Rajasthan might have been motivated with a view to explore the possibilities of enlisting the support of the princes for the cause of the revolution. Moreover, Rajasthan's glorious past and the saga of its undaunted struggle against the foreign invaders had always been a source of inspiration to the early freedom fighters. They thought, and perhaps rightly too, that Rajasthan would provide, because of its martial traditions, an ideal recruiting ground for swelling their ranks and also because of its remoteness, a secure base for their activities.

Incidentally around this very time the revolutionary group of Delhi, functioning under the leadership of Ras Behari Bose and Master Amir Chand, had established links with almost all the major States of Rajasthan.¹³ Revolutionary circles had been formed at Jaipur, Ajmer and Kota under the leadership of Arjun Lal Sethi, Gopal Singh Kharwa and Kesri Singh Barhat respectively. At Jodhpur Bal Mukund and Balraj, two leading revolutionaries of Delhi and Punjab, had secured employment as tutor guardians of the princes.¹⁴ At this juncture had Miss Perin also succeeded in getting some foothold in a premier State of Rajasthan, the hands of these revolutionaries would have been further strengthened. The arrival of a young and accomplished lady revolutionary from Europe, having first hand knowledge of the working of secret societies there and

personal connections with most of the leading freedom fighters of her time, would have provided new dimensions to the revolutionary activities in Rajasthan.

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7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. One of the well-known national songs sung by her was: "Ai Mardano Hindi Jawano, Jaldi lo hathiyar" (Oh brave young heroes of India take up your weapons quickly.)—Foreign Deposit—1 June 1911, No. 49.
11. Ibid.
12. Madam Cama attended the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart (Germany) on August 1907 as a representative of India. It was in this conference that Madam Cama had concluded her address by unfolding the National Flag—a tricolour one in green, yellow and red. R. C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II, P. 321.
13. Home-Poll-A, July 1910, Nos. 1-2, N. A. I. The plan for the unsuccessful armed uprising of February 1915 was prepared by Ras Behari Bose and some prominent Rajasthani revolutionaries, namely, Rao Gopal Singh Kherwa, Bhoop Singh (Vijay Singh Pathik), Pratap Singh Barhat and Ram Narain Choudhary who were assigned quite active roles in it.
14. Bal Mukund was sentenced to death and Balraj received seven years imprisonment in the Harding's Bomb case.

THE BIRTH OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN JODHPUR

SATYA BHANU SRIVASTAVA

Jodhpur, the first state to follow Bikaner's lead in the matter of establishment of a representative assembly was founded in 1459 by Rao Jodhaji of Marwar, father of Rab Bikaji, the founder of Bikaner. Like other states it had the predominance of feudal chiefs, and its administration was of the feudal character.

As early as 1920 the necessity of enlarging the members of the Consultative institutions was felt. The Political and judicial member of the Government proposed that the interest of the different communities be taken into account and practical schemes be formulated to materialize them. It was suggested that the members should be selected from the respectable people belonging to the different communities. This was put in the form of a resolution (17) for the proceedings of the Council of Regency, dated 29th March 1921², regarding broadening the basis of representative element in consultative institutions and selecting members from

amongst respectable people representing different interests. The Consultative committee was of the opinion that as the matter affecting the interests of the public it was necessary to consult, the leaders of the different classes so that any scheme after being formulated and passed might be appreciated by the public.

The following qualifications were laid down for the members. Only such persons who fulfilled these qualifications were eligible for being selected for the membership of the consultative institutions. The qualifications were³:—

(1) They should be of staunch loyalty towards the Darbar; (2) they should be capable enough of giving sound opinion; (3) they should belong to respectable families; and (4) their status should be such that advice might be effective in the eyes of the public.

After being selected as members, they were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Maharaja.

The Council of Regency was to elect the following six members:—

(1) Three *mutsaddies* holding jagirs; (2) One person from among the Kayasthas; (3) One from among the Brahmins; (4) One from the Mahajans.

The Political and Judicial Member, before submitting the plan, suggested certain modifications, and these were to have one representative of the Mohammedans and one each from the agriculturists, the artisans, and the labourers. The consultative committee was to be authorised to summon, whenever it be necessary, influential members of the Jats, Malis, Sirvis, Vishnoies, Rebaries and of the artisan class.

It was resolved that the Political and Judicial Member be requested to suggest names of members for the approval of the council.⁴ The idea of broadening the basis of the consultative council got the approval of the Regent and the Resident and as per council's resolution No 4 of 29th March 1921, the Political and Judicial Member submitted the names of the different communities who would represent the interests of their respective communities in the consultative committee (13th April 1921).⁵

During the times of Sir Jaswant Singh Bahadur, a council to help the Musahib-Ala was set up for disposing off judicial cases and to act as a consultative body for all questions which were of public importance. These questions of public importance were referred to this consultative body for its guidance and advice. The Government had set up an Advisory Council consisting of three leading sardars⁶ The Regency Council used to consult this advisory body on such matters as needed prompt decisions and particularly on cases connected with jagirs. This advisory body, as at that time constituted, represented the jagir element only.

Now the membership of the Advisory Council was to be increased by adding fresh members, and to begin with such matters were to be referred to it as were of public importance in the eyes of the Regency Council. For the present these members were to be nominated and the Municipalities were to be asked to send four names out of which the required number was to be nominated to the Advisory Council. By this the idea was not to practically eliminate the *Mutsaddies* from the council but not to allow them to predominate in the decision⁷ of matters so that the public might not have the idea that the whole show of broadening the basis of the consultative council was only to deceive the public by pretending to enlarge the membership and having an association of the representatives of the leaders of the different sections of the society.

The Legislative Assembly in Jodhpur did not come into existence overnight. But it was the result of the establishment of the municipalities, Panchayats, and local boards. A brief history of the constitutional reforms introduced in the Jodhpur state for laying the foundation of a popular elected Legislative Assembly may be traced as follows:—

In 1902 A.D. a Consultative Committee, consisting of three thakurs of big *thikanas* of the state⁸ were appointed to advise the Government on important administrative matters. At the time of the formation of this committee the functions of the same were not defined. But in the time of Maharaja Sumer Singh, when the executive functions were separated from the Legislative ones, the scope of the consultative committee was also limited upto the tendering advice only.

Though the committee was in existence from 1902, there was a slight change in the composition of this committee. Upto 1935 the committee consisted of one President and four members. Out of these four members three were thakurs and one *Mutsaddi*⁹. The committee's advice was sought on matters related to the rights and privileges of the jagirdars and other ancient families of the state¹⁰ such as (a) payments and allowances to Majis and the shares of *chhutbhais*; (b) grant of Kafiya, Kurala etc. to the members of ancient families in the state; (c) complaints against *thikanas*; (d) disputes between *chhut bhais* and Jagirdars; and (e) opening of schools in jagir areas.

Liberalisation of Municipal bodies

The Government of Jodhpur at its own expense established a municipal committee in 1884 A. D. The members of this committee were purely nominated ones by the government itself. Naturally, therefore, the municipality in the beginning was a committee of yes-men. Nevertheless it paved the way for a popular elected body in the future. It was as late as 1928¹¹ that a regular Board consisting of a President, five ex-officio members, and twelve representatives of the public came into existence. These representatives of the public were by the Panchas of

the leading communities in the state. In order to make the working of the municipality more efficient the municipal committee was further divided into sub-committees.

Looking into the success of the municipality of Jodhpur it was thought desirable to extend this experiment to some of the important towns of the districts, on the same pattern as was founded at Jodhpur itself. Therefore some other towns in the State also had the benefits of the establishment of the municipalities.

Appointment of Legislative Assembly or similar bodies consisting wholly or partly of popular elected members:—

After the establishment of the municipal committee a Central Advisory Board was established in Jodhpur in the month of February 1939. The creation of the Advisory Board was the stepping stone towards the establishment of the Legislative Assembly. The total members of the Board were forty two. Out of these twelve were official members and thirty non-officials.¹² The non-official members were also nominated ones, but they represented different interests of the State. The main function of this Advisory Board was to advise the government on such subject which were of social and public interest,¹³ such as education, sanitation, trade and commerce, development of industries, medical relief, public health, road development, economic well-being of the agriculturists, *devasthan dharampura*, social customs including social legislation, matters relating to panchayats, municipalities and cattle breeding and improvement of stock, etc.

Establishment of Local Boards, Panchayats, etc.

After a month of the establishment of the Central Advisory Board, District Advisory Boards were also established. In these boards there were to be three official members and seven non-official nominated members¹⁴ who were supposed to be the representatives of the various interests of the district. Such District Advisory Boards were established in as many as twenty one *Hakumat* towns of the State. The duties and functions of these District Advisory Boards were similar to that of the Central Advisory Board.

By 1939 the State council had passed the Panchayat Act as a result of which panchayats were being established almost in all the villages (including jagir areas) having a population of 1,000 persons or above.¹⁵ These panchayats were granted civil jurisdiction with the power of deciding petty cases. Besides the civil jurisdiction it had some administrative functions¹⁶ also, such as looking after the village sanitation, water supply, constructing of roads, public buildings, etc. Thus the Panchayats were given both civil and administrative powers. Naturally, therefore, the importance of these bodies was increasing gradually.

Constitutional and administrative reforms, Feb. 1940

There occurred a remarkable change during the period of one year from Feb. 1939 to Feb. 1940 in the constitutional and administrative spheres. These changes had historic importance, as it was for the first time that the State council had decided to overhaul completely the central Advisory Board at Jodhpur and District Advisory Boards in the districts. It was decided that the members of these in future would be elected by the various constituencies. A franchise committee¹⁷ comprising of officials and non-officials was constituted to work out in details, the strength of the proposed Assembly, the percentage of elected and nominated members, qualifications of the elected members, basis of election and the preparation of electoral rolls, etc. The Representative Advisory Assembly was to enjoy full free right of interpellations¹⁸ on the floor of the House on the specified subjects rather than merely asking questions as was the case till then.

The Central Advisory Board was renamed as "The Representative Assembly". The new feature of this institution was that in future its members would be elected from the various constituencies. The total elected and nominated members would be thirty three and twenty three respectively.¹⁹ The members had full and free right of interpellation on the floor of the House. The scope and sphere of tendering advice by this body had much increased, as a few more subjects were added to the list of subjects on which its advice was sought by the State government. These additional subjects were:—²⁰

(a) Rail and road transport, (b) customs, (c) forest development, (d) public amenities, (e) water works, (f) generation and distribution of power for household and commercial requirement, and (g) development of mineral resources.

In order to have a closer association of the people in administration of the State, the council at its meeting held on 14th December 1939²¹, appointed a franchise committee to submit its report on the formation of the Representative Advisory Assembly. That is to say it had to express its opinion on the issue like the strength of the Assembly, percentage of elected and nominated members, the qualifications and disqualifications of voters and the formation of electoral rolls. This committee consisted of 11 members. Out of these 5 were to be official members and non-official ones.²² The recommendations set forth by this franchise committee were accepted by the State council.

The proposed Representative Advisory Assembly was expected to function from September 1940, and therefore the Central Advisory Board

of Jodhpur was dissolved in August of the same year. During its short life of one and a half years,²³ the Central Advisory Board discussed and passed several beneficial measures, such as, rural developments commercial reforms, etc. and gave valuable advice on various social legislative measures such as, "an Act to prevent the use of narcotics and drugs by young persons, below 21 years of age", the "Pure Food Act" and "The Marwar Press Act", etc. All these social and humanitarian works which were turned out by the Central Advisory Board were much appreciated by the public.

After the elections the Representative Advisory Assembly was inaugurated in January 1942²⁴ by the Chief Minister, Sir Donald Field, who emphasized the policy of gradual progress and called upon the members to justify the trust reposed in them by the Maharaja and advised that, "this trust implies the gradual and steady evolution by peaceful and constitutional means of a system of government in Marwar which will ensure for the people their legitimate share in their own government and at the same time safeguard and preserve the elements of good and orderly government". He further observed, ²⁵ "notions of liberty and self determination have to be harmonised and blended with the sense of traditional loyalty that the rich and the poor alike have towards the person and the throne of His Highness the Maharajah Sahib". The constitution of the Representative Assembly was an advance upon the Central Advisory Board and the District Boards. It established the principle of election instead of nomination. This gave a sense of pride and held out the hope of a responsible government in future.

By an order of the Maharaja, dated 25th August 1943,²⁶ the life of the Assembly was extended by one year.²⁷ This body of elected members was granted the power to legislate, interpellate and discuss the principles of budget, duly keeping in view the conditions and circumstance of the State. In order to see that due justice is done to the interests of different classes of the people, the post of an advisor for constitutional reforms was created.²⁸ His duty was to keep an eye on the activities of the Assembly. The classes whose interest was to be safeguarded in the Assembly were:— jagirdars, Kisans, commercial classes and the minorities. Shri S. A. Sudhalkar was appointed to the post of constitutional advisor and he started gathering the views of important associations and the public of Marwar from 29th May 1944²⁹ for proposing such reforms as might be demand of the time. The main question he was called upon to decide whether the legislative should have two houses or only one. He was of the opinion that the Assembly had already had the benefit of the presence of different interests and that the second house was likely to be a costly affair. Moreover, the presence of the second chamber would unnecessary

delay the passage of legislative measures. So he recommended that the Assembly should consent of one chamber only.³¹ His recommendation was accepted.

As regards the franchise the Lok Parishad proposed that there should be one representative from a constituency of 35,000 or less. This was not accepted, for the assembly when formed had sixty nine members in all. A constituency for the rural areas consisted of 50,000 or less persons and 4 members to be elected from the city of Jodhpur itself. Out of these sixty nine, thirty seven were elected from the territorial constituencies, fifteen from the special constituencies, nine were nominated members and eight as ex-officio members.³² The latter two categories of persons were wholly the representatives of the State government, as it was the discretion of the government to appoint any one it pleased. The ex-officio members were also the government employees who were there by virtue of the posts they held in the State administration.

The next question was that of the qualifications and disqualifications of the members of the Assembly. The government laid down the following qualifications and disqualifications for the members of the Assembly.³³

Qualifications for election

(1) A person who wanted to be elected as a member of the Assembly, must have been residing in the State of Jodhpur for a period of 5 years prior to the date of election. But the occasional absence would not affect this period of five years (2) The name of the candidate must appear on the voter's list (3) The candidate must have completed 25 years of age before the date of filing the nomination paper (4) The candidate must be able to read and write.

Disqualifications

A candidate would be disqualified for being chosen as, and for being a member of the Legislative Assembly, if he possessed all or any of the disqualifications mentioned below³⁴:—

(1) A person holding an office of profit under His Highness or under a municipal or local authority shall not be eligible for elections. But this clause shall not apply in case of ex-officio members and the official nominated members; (2) A person of unsound mind shall not be qualified for the elections (3) An undischarged insolvent or a discharged one who has not obtained a certificate from a competent court that his insolvency was caused by misfortune, and not on account of misconduct on his part, would not be eligible to contest the elections; (4) A convicted person, or a person against whom court proceedings are going on for questioning his validity or regularity of an election, were found guilty of an offence or corrupt or illegal practice relating to elections as declared by the laws of Jodhpur or of British India to be an offence or practice entailing disqualification for membership of the Legislative Assembly unless such period

has elapsed as may be specified in that behalf by the provisions of any law or an order of an election tribunal and if no period is specified unless five years have elapsed from the date of the termination of the proceedings

(5) A person against whom a criminal court conviction is subsisting for an offence punishable with a sentence of two years imprisonment or more or transportation or an order binding him to be of good behaviour has been passed or an order of internment or externment passed by a criminal court of Jodhpur State or British India, is in force, unless a period of five years or such less period as His Highness may allow in any particular case has elapsed since his release or expiry of the period specified in the order

(6) A person having been nominated as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly or having acted as an election agent of a person so nominated, fails to lodge a return of election expenses within the time and manner required by the Assembly electoral rules made under the Act, unless five years have elapsed from the date by which it ought to have been lodged, or His Highness has revoked the disqualification, provided that the disqualification under this clause shall not take effect until the expiration of one month from the date by which the return ought to have been lodged or of such longer period as His Highness in any particular case allows;

(7) a dismissed government servant or municipal servant or a vakil whose sanad has been suspended or who has been debarred from practising is not qualified to contest the election. But this disqualification would be done away with after five years of the date of dismissal or debarring or by the condonation of this disqualification by His Highness in a particular case.

The voting right in territorial constituencies was based on property qualifications. No one could have been a voter unless he fulfilled one of the following qualifications³⁵.

(1) If one is an agriculturist or a bapidar, then he must be paying Rs 40/- to the government as the land assessment tax; or (2) if the land be free from the government assessment, tax one must have during the previous year cultivated at least (a) fifteen bighas chahi, nehri or Rel and, (b) fifty bighas of unirrigated land, (c) eighty bighas of unirrigated land of good sandy soil or "Sonthal" or (d) of one hundred twenty bighas of 'Thal' or sandy soil then only he could possess the right to vote

(3) If one is a land holder of rent free land upto the extent and character mentioned in clause 2 or (4) he must have during the previous official year derived an income of one thousand rupees; or (5) one must be marwar Middle pass or such equivalent examination which has been recognized for the purpose or (6) if one is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Highness army or of the Imperial Indian army and other forces or (7) if one is an owner of immovabale property other than agricultural land worth rupees two

thousand or such as would bring annual rent of rupees sixty in the city of Jodhpur or a rent of rupees twenty four in other towns or villages, or (8) one must be paying an annual rent of not less than rupees sixty in the city of Jodhpur and not less than rupees twenty four in other towns and villages was qualified to become a voter.

The disqualifications for being a voter in the territorial constituencies were specified as under³⁶:—

No person could be enrolled as a voter if (1) one was below twenty one years of age; or (2) one was not of sound mind; or (3) if one has not resided within the limits of the constituency during the previous official year for the prescribed period for the purpose, or (4) if one was disqualified by the provisions of any law or any rule having the force of law to be a voter.

The Legislature: its powers and functions

The Legislature of the state consisted of the Maharajah and the Legislative assembly. The Assembly consisted of three categories of members. These categories were (a) ex-officio members, (b) nominated members, and (c) elected members.

Ex-officio members

In this category there were only one set of people that is, this class comprised of the Chief Minister and other ministers of the State of Jodhpur who were nominated by His Highness as the ex-officio members of the Assembly.

Nominated members

Nominated members were those members who were nominated by His Highness as the members of the Assembly. His Highness could nominate not more than nine members out of whom three were official and six non-official members. Besides this number the Chief Minister was given the power to nominate two persons in the Assembly. But this power could be utilised in case such a bill was introduced in the Legislature which required special knowledge or experience of the subject matter of the bill to attend and take part in the proceedings of the Assembly. These members enjoyed the rights at par with other members during the period for which they were nominated for the aforesaid purpose.

Elected members

These were such members who were elected by the people from the different constituencies as fixed by His Highness. As per Act of the State not less than fifty two of the non-official members could be elected by these constituencies. But in case any constituency failed to elect a member, His Highness had the power to nominate a member to represent such a constituency.

Duration, session and dissolution of the Assembly³⁸:—

The term of the Legislative Assembly constituted under the provisions of the Act was four years from the date of its first meeting. But His Highness had the power to (a) dissolve the assembly at any time before the expiry of its term; or (b) in case he thought fit he might as a special case extend the term of the Assembly. (2) There shall be every year at least two sessions of the proposed Assembly. (b) The power to summon, prorogue or dissolving rested in the hands of His Highness (3) A date not more than six months after the date of expiry of the term of the Assembly or of its dissolution, for its next session would be appointed by His Highness.

The President and the Deputy President of the Assembly

The Chief Minister shall be the ex-officio President of the Legislative Assembly.³⁹ Besides him His Highness shall appoint a Deputy President who would preside over the meetings of the Assembly in the absence of the President. If both the President and the Deputy President are absent from any meeting of the Assembly then the presidential chair would be occupied by such person who would be appointed by the proclamation of His Highness order. This order be issued in general or by a special proclamation by the Maharajah.⁴⁰

Parliamentary Secretaries

They were to be appointed from amongst the non-official members of the Assembly. There was no fixed number prescribed as to how many parliamentary secretaries were to be there. It rested on the sweet will of His Highness to appoint any number, as he thought to be desirable for undertaking the work of the Assembly. The secretaries were appointed for a term of four years and were attached to one or more ministers and performed such duties as were assigned to them in relation to the business of the House which were likely to come before the Assembly.

Though the legislative powers of His Highness as the Head of the state were not to be affected by this proposed institution, nevertheless subject to certain limitation, it was proposed that His Highness and the legislative Assembly should jointly exercise the legislative powers of the state. The Assembly should within certain limits have powers to pass laws, discuss matters of public interest and discuss and pass the annual budget. The members enjoyed the power to ask question on matters of public interest and to put supplementary questions. The Assembly enjoyed the right of forming committees to advise the government on important matters of administration, with regard to subjects which were not excluded from its purview. Shri S. A. Sudhalkar, the Constitutional Advisor to the government of Jodhpur in his report on Constitutional

reforms recommended the exclusion of certain subjects from the cognisance of the Assembly. These were readily accepted by His Highness and incorporated in the government of Jodhpur Act. These subjects were as under⁴¹:—

(a) A bill or amendment or resolution or motion or question which affected the discipline and well-being of the state forces, (b) matters affecting His Highness office or the House Hold department; (c) matters affecting the relations and treaties with other state and governments; (d) matters affecting the authority and position of His Highness and the members of his family; (e) matters regulating the borrowing of money or giving of any guarantee by the state or amend any law with respect to any financial obligation undertaken by it; (f) matters affecting the provisions of the Constitution Act; (g) matters affecting the relations of the jagirdars with His Highness and their personal privileges, hereditary rights and status, granted or recognized by His Highness; or (h) such other matters determined by His Highness from time to time; shall be introduced or moved in the Legislative Assembly.

Apart from the fact that certain subjects were declared out of bonds from the purview of the legislature, there were some subjects on which legislation was not allowed even to be introduced without the previous sanction of His Highness. These subjects were measures affecting public debt, revenue or taxes or those creating a change on the government revenue, or taxes generally to be initiated by the government. But in case any private member wanted to introduce any bill relating to these subjects, the previous sanction of His Highness was necessary.

The Constitutional Advisor to the government of Jodhpur, Shri S. A. Sudhalkar, proposed⁴² that no bill or amendment (a) which affected the public debt or revenue or taxes or created a change on the government revenue or taxes; (b) affected the religion or religious rights and usages of His Highness subjects; (c) affected the Act, proclamation or order made or passed by His Highness in exercise of His Highness prerogatives; or (d) affected the privileges of the members of the Legislative Assembly, should be introduced in the Asssmbly without the previous sanction of His Highness. The previous sanction of His Highness did not mean that the subject matter of such measures were absolutely excluded from the purview of the Legislative Assembly. The members could ask questions and bring recommendatory resolutions on these matters, if they so desired, in the public interest. But the resolution passed should be in the form of recommendations to the government.

As regards the administrative questions, since there was the risk of disturbing peace and tranquility in their detailed discussion, the government was given the power of intervention in the proceedings of the legislative assembly. It was proposed by Shri Sudhalkar that the Chief

Minister should be entrusted with the powers of imposing a check on the discussion of any bill or amendment which might affect peace and tranquility of the state by stopping the proceedings of the Assembly. He should, besides this, enjoy the powers to stop the discussion on such resolutions which were of public interest.

It was with these limitations⁴³ that the Legislative Assembly of Jodhpur had the power to legislate, interpellate and move resolutions on matters of public interest in the manner prescribed by the rules of business. **Power of Chief Minister to return a Bill**

Every bill passed by the legislature was to be submitted for His Highness assent. But before submission to His Highness, it had to be sent to the Chief Minister who was entrusted with the powers to scrutinise it and who could return it to the Assembly for reconsideration in whole or in part together with any amendment which he might think desirable. The Legislative Assembly was bound to reconsider the Bill or amendment⁴⁴ sent to it by the Chief Minister. The bill could be submitted finally for the assent of His Highness only when necessary amendments suggested by the Chief Minister were complied with. After the assent of His Highness the Bill became an Act and was published in the state gazette. The Act was in force only after it was published for the general information of the public. It was within these limitations that the work of the Legislative Assembly started in the State of Jodhpur.

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BEGINNING OF POLITICAL AWAKENING IN MARWAR

(1919-24)

SOBHAG MAL MATHUR

India in 1921 saw the greatest political struggle, that she had witnessed in her recent history. Early in the year the fiat of non-cooperation had gone forth from the Indian National Congress. Till then nothing much had been done in the way of Constitutional agitation, the *khilafat* grievances had remained as they were, the Punjab wrongs of 1919 had remained unremedied, and the reforms which needed greater expenditure and taxation had become a means of further exploitation.¹ Gandhiji's constant preaching of non-cooperation had encouraged some hope and it began to appeal to the masses. Throughout the year 1921 the movement gradually acquired tempo and vigour. In 1921, it appeared as if "Mahatma Gandhi was riding on the crest of a wave and had no obstacles to encounter."²

In his letter of February 1, 1922 to the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi made a strong protest against "official lawlessness and barbarism" and issued an ultimatum to launch civil disobedience movement in case there

was not a complete change of heart within seven days.³ Before the expiry of the period, on February 4, there occurred the Chauri Chaura incident, where a mob led by Congress volunteers massacred twenty-two policemen. Gandhiji at once suspended the movement. The suspension of the movement produced an out-cry in the Congress rank and file. The movement had far-reaching repercussions. In the European circles, it became a fashion to talk about India as the lost dominion.⁴ The Britishers were really perturbed at the fact that among the Hindus "the worship of the Mother was giving place to the worship of Gandhi."⁵

The Rulers of Indian States were alarmed⁶ by this mass upsurge in British India. They were afraid of this weapon of non-cooperation in the hands of the masses and called it a dangerous one.⁷ Pt. Motilal Nehru, who was Mahatma Gandhi's most convinced supporter at that time, dealt with the subject of Indian Rulers in his Presidential address to the Rajputana, Central India, Ajmer-Merwara Political Conference at Ajmer as follows⁸ :

"Let me take this opportunity of assuring all Indian Ruling Chiefs that there is no reason for them to be alarmed at the non-cooperation movement, which is directed against the British Government only, and not against them. I cannot too strongly impress upon those delegates who come from these states that the true happiness of both the rulers and the ruled lies in a hearty cooperation between them, and that nothing can lead to more disastrous results than the application of our programme of non-cooperation to the Indian States."

The Indian States, no doubt were outside the purview of non-cooperation movement, but it had its strong repercussion on the people of the States. It created uneasiness in the minds of the rulers, because the happenings in British India served as an eye-opener to them.

The British authorities were perturbed by the mass upsurge in India. They wanted to strengthen the hands of the princes and with this aim. 'The Indian States (protection against disaffection) Bill' was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the Home Member, Sir William Vincent on the 23rd September, 1922.⁹ The Bill was passed by the Council of State and received immediate assent of the Governor-General to become an Act. The Act laid down firstly that whoever edited, printed, published or was the author of any book, newspaper or other document which brought hatred, contempt and excited disaffection towards any prince or Chief of a State in India, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to five years or with fine or with both. Secondly, it laid down that no person would be deemed to have committed an offence under this section in respect of any book, newspaper or other document which, without exciting or being intended to excite hatred contempt or disaffection, contained comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of any

such Prince, Chief, Government or administration, as aforesaid with a view to obtaining their alteration by lawful means or disapprobation of the administrative or other action of any such Prince, Chief, Government or Administration.¹⁰

The Act was laid before both Houses of Parliament to receive His Majesty's assent. Colonel Wedgewood on behalf of the Labour Party on the 27th February, 1923, moved a resolution in the House of Commons to the effect that an humble address be presented to His Majesty praying that his assent to the Indian States Act, 1922 be withheld. Colonel Wedgewood severely criticised this measure. He said that the tall talk of the Indian princes to treat their subjects as their own children was just the same which was indulged in by Henry VIII and Louis XIV.¹¹ Mr. Shell supporting the resolution remarked that their experience in England through many centuries had been that liberty paid best in the end and not repression.¹² Mr. Gwyhne and Mr. Saklatwala also supported the resolution. Sir Percy and Charles Roberts opposed this motion. Sir Thomas Bennet opposed the resolution on the ground that it was necessary to maintain the 'Izzat' of the princes.¹³ The resolution was put to vote. 120 were for and 297 against it. Thus it was lost. His Majesty gave his assent to the Act on the 12th March, 1923, and the Act became an Act of the Indian Legislature.

Events in the meantime had been happening in Marwar. In 1920 an organization was formed known as 'Marwar Sevasangh'. This was the first political organization of its kind in Marwar. The objective of this organization was to protest against the misrule of the corrupt bureaucracy and to seek redress against their acts of lawlessness. To create awakening in the masses, was also the function of this organization, as also to procure newspapers from Ajmer and to distribute them freely amongst the people. This organization had its affiliation, with 'Rajasthan Sevasangh'. Its important members were Jainarayan Vyas, Kanmal, Durga Shanker, Bhanwar Lal Sharaf and Prayagraj Bhandari.¹⁴

The formation of this organization put the police of Marwar on the alert. As the activities of this organization were expanding and its popularity increasing it became an eyesore to the police authorities and its prominent leader Jainarayan Vyas and Secretary, Prayagraj were frequently summoned by the police for interrogation. The then Inspector General of Police of the State recommended to the State Government the crushing of the activities of this organization and the instituting of a case against its leader Jainarayan Vyas under the Sedition Act. This organization could not thus enlist any large number of people to its fold due to the repressive attitude of the police. Thus came the premature end of this organization which was formed with high hopes to serve the people of Marwar, to

spread political, economical and social consciousness and to raise its voice against the misrule of the corrupt officials.¹⁵

After the disintegration of Marwar Seva Sangh a new political organization came into being known as Marwar Hitkarini Sabha¹⁶ The founders of this organization were the same persons who formed the Marwar Seva Sangh and the aims and objectives¹⁷ of this new organization were also similar to the previous one. But to avoid the wrath of the State authorities its founder expressed their loyalty to the Maharaj under whose aegis they proclaimed and social progress of the people of Marwar.¹⁸ But internally its objective was purely political. Their other activities were either just secondary or a means to an end.

Of this the agitation against the exports of goats and sheep is an example. Marwar is a desert. There is scarcity of rains in this area. In addition to agriculture, the important occupation of its people in the rural areas is to rear sheep and goats. In 1923 on the 29th October the State Government passed an order allowing export of she-goats and sheep¹⁹ which was formerly prohibited. This order was not well received by the people on economic and religious grounds. The newly formed Hitkarini Sabha seized this opportunity to become popular with the masses by sponsoring their cause against this unpopular Act of the Government. At that time the Sedition and Press Acts were in vogue in the Marwar State. Under these organized political activities were not possible, though the educated section of the people resented the severity of these measures that put curbs on their freedom. Hence the free export of cattle came quite handy for Hitkarini Sabha to channelise the mass discontent which took the form of a strong protest against the autocratic nature of the rule of the State.²⁰

At that time in the adjoining States like Udaipur, Jaipur, Bikaner etc., export of she-goats and sheep was prohibited and the leader of the Hitkarini Sabha, Jainarayan Vyas, in his representation to the Maharaja of Jodhpur stated that the export of she-goats and sheep will result in reduction of number of goats and sheep in Marwar which was the wealth of the rural masses and was their permanent source of income. It would also cause scarcity of wool, *ghee* and manure. He quoted in his representation Lord Chelmsford in whose report it was mentioned that the State of Marwar should pay more attention to the breeding of goats and sheep as it was vital for the economy of the State and for the prosperity of its people.²¹ Jainarayan Vyas, sarcastically remarked in his representation that due to the weight of she-goat and sheep the land of Marwar was perhaps giving way, that could be the only reason why the State Government was obliged to allow their export. He himself led a deputation of the people to the Maharaja for the presentation of the written representation for getting the demand for prohibition of export of she-goat and sheep from Marwar²² accepted by the Marwar Government.

Though this demand was just and reasonable, the form of organized representation by the people could not be tolerated by the State authorities because they envisaged in it a dangerous challenge to their right to rule according to their will. The public representatives were not properly received by the official who frowned upon them and tersely dismissed them saying that the State Council passed the orders in their wisdom which could not be questioned. As result of the hostile attitude of the authorities and their disrespectful treatment of the public representatives immediate success could not be achieved. But very soon the urge of the people and demand for prohibition of the goat and sheep became so widespread that the people of Jodhpur and Sojat²³ again raised their voice against the Government. Public meeting was held on the 15th July, 1924 at Jodhpur in this connection.²⁴ In order to create awe in the public a large number of the police used to come to such meetings. The principal leaders of Hitkarini Sabha were frequently summoned to the police station without written orders and were scolded for their activities. Many times when the leaders visited the State officials they were kept waiting for a long time and ultimately had to return in disgust without seeing anybody. The sole purpose in treating the public representatives so contemptuously by the State authorities was to cause frustration in them so that they might get disheartened and drop their demands.

Though the demand of the people was just and reasonable and actually was in the interest of the State, the State disliked their organized attempt for getting it accepted. Ultimately the Maharaja had to succumb to the public demand and the export of she-goats and sheep was stopped. This action of the Maharaja was much appreciated by his subjects and they doubt long and weary but the Hitkarini Sabha and its leaders took up this public cause and became popular. Jainarayan Vyas became the acclaimed leader of the people of Marwar and his meetings used to attract large crowds of more than five thousand at times.²⁶

The movement against export of she-goats and sheep and its success caused political awakening which was a new experience for the people. Jainarayan Vyas was against oppression, exploitation and mal-administration. He was not against the Maharaja and in the conditions than prevailing it was perhaps impossible for him to express himself against the Maharaja without running the risk of his own extinction. He comouflaged his activities and sought redress of people's grievances by invoking the benevolence of the Maharaja. But at times he could not hide his revolutionary ideas and expressed himself against the rulers in the following terms :²⁷

“To a long term prisoner, the confines of the four walls are his world and he gets at peace to the loss of his freedom; he loses

the awareness of the outside free world. So are our Princes; the stooges for the expansion of the empire of an Imperial power. The Princes are the birds in the golden cage who have forgotten even the flutter of their wings of freedom. If these princes understand themselves and ever realise their responsibilities then only they have a place in the India to be, but if they allow to slip through their fingers then surely they along with their people, would be swept away with the tidal waves of the times”.

There was the true Jainarayan Vyas speaking to his people in terms that cannot but be regarded as revolutionary.

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TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN RAJASTHAN (1932-1939)

DR. K. S. SAXENA

In the year 1932, the terrorist movement spread in northern India, and Ajmer became the centre of the terrorist activities in Rajasthan under the leadership of Pt. Jwala Prashad Sharma.

Pt. Jwala Prashad Sharma was associated with the revolutionaries of the northern India.¹ He was educated at Ajmer, first joining D.A.V. School (1923-1933) and then Government College. It seems that Jwala Prashad had been converted to terrorism by Ram Singh at the D.A.V. School sometime before 1928. This is supported by the fact that Pt. Jwala Prashad with Ram Singh and Mul Chand,² had bought two muzzle-loading guns for rupees sixty from a peon in the D A.V. School and ammunition through a licence-holding clerk in the *Sasta Sahitya Mandal*, Ajmer and practised³ shooting in the Hatundi jungle for six months during 1928.

Attempt to shoot the Commissioner

In April, 1932 Jwala Prashad and his associates prepared a plan to shoot the Commissioner of Ajmer to terrorise the British authorities in the city. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the Commissioner by his colleague, Ram Chandra Bapat⁴ which created a panic in the city. Bapat was arrested and convicted u/s 307 of I.P.C.⁵

Attempt to loot the peon of the Government College Ajmer

As the terrorist party was short of funds, Jwala Prashad with his associates, Jagdish Dutt, Madan Gopal, Hem Chandra and Ram Chandra Bapat, planned to loot the money from the peon of Govt. College, Ajmer while bringing the pay of the staff from the Imperial Bank.⁶ According to the plan Hem Chand was deputed with a revolver to push down the peon and he was to be followed by Jwala Prashad who was to snatch the money bag from the peon. Jwala Prashad was also armed with a pistol. Ram Chandra Bapat and Madan Gopal were deputed to run away with the money. Jagdish Dutt was to be at some distance and was to inform the colleagues if the police or some men were coming. Accordingly, the members of the party changed their dresses and positioned themselves near the office of the Ajmer Educational Board.⁷ The peon came with the money. He was pushed by Hem Chand, but Jwala Prashad could not snatch the money bag. Ram Chandra Bapat shouted to Hem Chand, 'snatch it away', but he also failed. Just then the treasure was being escorted from the Imperial Bank and there was armed police with it. As soon as the terrorists saw the police, they ran away, and thus the plan fizzled out.⁸

Attempt on the life of the Viceroy in Bikaner

In the beginning of 1934, Jwala Prashad prepared a plan to kill the Viceroy during his visit to the Bikaner State. Jwala Prashad asked his

associates to manage two revolvers for him and for this purpose gave letter for Sheo Dayal Goyal at Neemuch. After the arrangements had been made Jwala Prashad alongwith Ram Chandra Bapat, went to Bikaner to kill the Viceroy but the plan could not be implemented as 'the vigilance of the police was very strict.'¹⁰

Mayo College bomb case

In the middle of 1934, the Viceroy was to pass through Ajmer and police search was apprehended in connection with the security arrangements for the Viceroy. Jwala Prashad, therefore, decided to store the fire arms of the party at some safer place¹¹ and for this purpose the out-houses of Mayo College, lying vacant on account of summer vacation, were selected. The work was entrusted to Fateh Chand, who carried three bags containing the fire arms on his cycle to the Mayo College. He entered the College premises by the back avenue, leaving the cycle near the fencing, and placed the bags inside an out-house and locked the door.¹² He informed Jwala Prashad accordingly on the following day. But after six or seven days the arms were recovered from the out-house. Fateh Chand was arrested as 'a leave application form signed by him' was recovered along with the fire arms. The manner through which the application form found its way there, was that Jwala Prashad had given the loose cartridges to him and he had wrapped them in a paper which happened to be his application form. The result was that Fateh Chand and Lalu Narain¹³ were imprisoned for about a year and a half.¹⁴

Threatening letter to Suraj Bux Ghiya of Jaipur

As the party was running short of funds, Jwala Prashad and his associates Ram Das, Sher Singh and Sua Lal drafted a threatening letter which was sent through Sher Singh to Seth Suraj Bux Ghiya in Govind-Rajiyon ka-Rasta, Jaipur city. In this letter a sum of rupees five hundred was demanded and Seth Ghiya was asked to place the money in the Arya Samaj-temple on the same day, failing which he was threatened with dire consequences.¹⁵ But Suraj Bux did not comply with this demand. The next morning Sua Lal was sent to him, but he refused to give any money.¹⁶ In the mean time the police was informed and thus the plan fizzled out.

But again an attempt was made, in collaboration with Baba Nar Singh Das and Karmanand of Jaipur, to commit a dacoity some where in Shekhawati but again the plan could not be successful as some one informed the C.I.D.¹⁷

Dogra shooting case

On April 4, 1935 at about 11.00 p.m. Mr. P.A. Dogra¹⁸, Dy. Supdt. of Police (C.I.D.), Ajmer and Mr. Khaliluddin, Sub-Inspector C.I.D. were fired at and wounded in Ajmer.¹⁹ Enquiries revealed that Jwala Prashad was the master mind behind the conspiracy. The terrorists

decided to kill Mr. Dogra because of his pro-British activities. As such two days before the outrage Jwala Prashad contacted his colleague Mangi Lal in Ajmer Dharamshala and suggested that he should take Mr. Dogra to a movie on 4th April, 1935. Ram Singh, Hem Chandra and one more colleague and terrorist reached Ajmer and it was decided that he would shoot Mr. Dogra while he was on his way back from movie.²⁰ Accordingly Mangi Lal and Ramesh Chandra Vyas, a terrorist and a local Press Reporter, suggested to Mr. Dogra that they should go to movie. Mr. Dogra agreed and went to the movie along with Mr. Khaliluddin and Mangi Lal. After the movie Mr. Dogra and Sub-Inspector Khaliluddin were cycling home, having left Mangi Lal at the cinema. On the way, Ram Singh stepped out in front of Mr. Dogra, fired at him with the revolver and hit him in the arm. Mr. Dogra fell from his cycle knocking Khaliluddin. Two more shots were then fired by Ram Singh and Hem Chandra at Mr. Dogra. The Sub-Inspector was also hit by one shot in the arm. When Ram Singh was arrested, he deposed that just before the assault on Mr. Dogra, Jwala Prashad met him (Ram Singh) outside the Railway Institute around 8.00 p.m. and having done so, left him to commit the outrage. On 7th April, Jwala Prashad told Ram Singh that he had got the revolver from the 'friend' to whom Ram Singh gave it after committing the outrage.²¹

Arrest of Jwala Prashad

These activities show that Jwala Prashad was not only associated with the terrorist activities but was the master mind behind all the conspiracies. On 29th April, 1935, he was, therefore, arrested under the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932, and was kept in the police custody until 29th May, 1935. Then he was transferred to a magisterial lock-up, where he was kept upto 23rd Sept., 1935.²² When Jwala Prashad was in the police custody he asked his brother Kalicharan, to provide him with a 'cigarette case & cigarette' i. e. a 'revolver' on 14 or 15th May, 1935 between 12 to 2 during the night,²³ and sent a threatening 'Red Letter' to the Dy. Superintendent of Police (C. I. D.) Mr. Mumtaz Hussain, asking him to release all the arrested persons 'without any delay and without any condition', otherwise the Dy. S. P. will meet the same fate as that of Mr. Dogra.²⁵ Under the circumstances the A. G. G. in Rajasthan suggested to the Government in India that Jwala Prashad 'is a most dangerous terrorist and he should not be set free' and may, therefore, be interned under Regulation III of 1818 and should be kept outside Ajmer,²⁵ as it was feared that his presence in Ajmer might create a law and order problem. Accordingly, a warrant under the aforesaid Regulation was issued on 12th Sept., 1935, and Jwala Prashad was transferred to Delhi Jail.²⁶

Release of Jwala Prashad and the reception accorded at Ajmer

In November, 1938, the Govt. of India decided to release Jwala Prashad on the condition that 'he will not directly or indirectly associate

himself with any violent method in politics or with any organisation which has adopted violence as its object, and will not enter in Delhi Province except with the Chief Commissioner's permission.²⁷

But Jwala Prashad refused the conditional release and started a hunger strike.²⁸ He intimated to Mahatma Gandhi that 'he has rejected the humiliating conditions which Government had offered....and that as Government had not acceded to the demand of unconditional release he has started the hunger strike.'²⁹ However, on the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi, Jwala Prashad was set at liberty,³⁰ and was released on 19th March, 1939 from Delhi Jail.³¹

On March 22, 1939 when Jwala Prashad arrived at Ajmer, he was given a warm reception at the railway station.³² Jwala Prashad was taken in a procession from the railway station to Ghasiram's Dharamshala via station Road, Mohalla Kaiserganj & Madar Gate etc. Mangi Lal, Sita Ram Vakil, Jaganath, Radhaballabh and Shyam Behari Singh led the crowd amid shouts of 'Inqalab Zindabad', 'Release Ram Singh' 'Release Ram Chandra Bapat', and cheers for Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru. Swami Kumaranand, at that occasion, embraced Jwala Prashad at Ghasi Ram's Dharamshala.³³

On the evening of March 22, 1939 a large meeting was organised to congratulate Jwala Prashad on his release which was presided over by Jai Narain Vyas. Speeches were made by Baba Nar Singh Das, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Ajmer, Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, Swami Kumaranand, Gen. Secretary, Town Congress Committee, Beawar, Rangji Lal, Convenor, Political Prisoners Release Committee, Ajmer and Radha Ballabh.³⁴ In his most thought-provoking speech Baba Nar Singh Das envied the spirit of patriotism of the Germans and Italians and wished that 'Indians would learn a lesson from them'. He appealed to the people to follow the example of Jwala Prashad and to endeavour to achieve freedom by peaceful means.³⁵ In the end a resolution was passed expressing pleasure on the unconditional release of Pt. Jwala Prashad.³⁶

Thus with the release of Pt. Jwala Prashad, while a chapter ended, simultaneously a new chapter was re-opened which resulted into the re-arrest of Jwala Prashad in 1941 and his successful escape from the Ajmer Central Jail in 1944.

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AMIR KHAN THE PIONEER OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

SHAUKAT ALI KHAN

(Summary)

In the last fifties of the eighteenth century, Amir Khan was born in the family of Yusuf-Zey-Pathan. After struggling hard, he became a leader of Pathan-troops. He established his military hegemony in Central India, Rajputana, Rohilkhand and the Deccan with his God-gifted prowess, industry and indefatigable will to drive the British out of India.

First he fought single handed, then with the alliance of the Marathas, he continued his noble mission. He untiringly planned to unite all the Indian Rulers against the British power. He opened overtures with the rulers of the Punjab, Patiala, the Deccan, Sindh and Afghanistan, but he failed owing to the subversive and treacherous designs of his own comrades-in-arms who played double game and did not permit the alliance with the above rulers to come into existence. The diplomatic ruses of the British were also no less responsible for it who diplomatically manoeuvred to keep Holkar, Ranjit Singh and others aloof from Amir Khan's pact. When he discovered, to his utter surprise, that the Marathas had patched up a peace with the British; the Nizam and the Rajputs had been bribed over and had left him in the lurch, he had no other alternative but to accept the terms of peace offered by the British in 1817 as a last resort. Thus the last outstanding patriot and military genius of India and the indomitable pioneer of freedom movement of the motherland was, so to say, chained up like a captured lion.

It is a great tragedy and mockery of fate that even after independence no attempts have been made by our own scholars of history to contradict the untruths of Amir Khan being a freebooter, a Pindari robber and a mercenary, the type of baseless accusations with which in sheer revenge and injustice the British have depicted him to soil his name and fame.

TAX SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN DURING EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

MRS. MALTI SAXENA

(Summary)

In the early nineteenth century many taxes like Sales tax, House tax, Income tax. etc., which are supposed to be of recent origin were prevalent in the States of Rajputana of course with different names and in different forms. There were many kinds of taxes that were levied, the chief among them being the land tax, the customs, the salt tax, the opium tax and the forest tax. The miscellaneous taxes formed comparatively a small portion of gross revenue. The principles of taxation were not observed while levying these taxes. There were no detailed records hence, the taxes were never collected in full. The petty amounts locally collected hardly ever reached the treasury of the State in full. Due to lack of organisation and inefficiency of the administration there was considerable tax evasion. Even the land revenue was generally in arrears. In every State there was a department of arrears known as '*Mahakma Bakiyat*'. In jagir lands the number of taxes was still larger; the method of their collection was more exacting and strict and hence the arrears never built up in large proportions.

कालीबंगा का स्तर विभाजन

सुरेश्वरानन्द

देश के विभाजन के साथ ही सन्धव-सम्यता के, उस समय तक के प्राप्त अवशेष भी, भारत की सीमा से बाहर चले गए। परन्तु शीघ्र ही इस कमी को राजस्थान, पंजाब, गुजरात और उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई महत्वपूर्ण खोजों ने दूर कर दिया। इन प्रदेशों में से कालीबंगा का स्थान अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण है जो राजस्थान के गंगानगर जिले में घग्घर साठ में स्थित है। अब यह नदी पूर्णतः सूख चुकी है, परन्तु वैदिक काल में पूर्ण रूप से सदातीरा थी और सरस्वती के नाम से प्रसिद्ध थी। भौमिक परिवर्तन के कारण यह नदी महाभारत काल में सूख चुकी थी और ऐसा विश्वास किया जाता रहा है कि इस पवित्र नदी की धारा अदृश्य रूप से पृथ्वी तल में बहा करती है।

कालीबंगा में दो टीले -बड़ा और छोटा-क्रमशः पूर्व और पश्चिम की ओर स्थित हैं। भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण ने दोनों स्थलों पर सन् १९६० ई० में उत्खनन का कार्य आरम्भ किया जो अब तक चल रहा है। इस से यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि दोनों टीले प्ररूप स्थल (Type Site) के स्वरूप के हैं जो पूर्णरूपेण हड़प्पा की सम्यता के ही प्रतीक हैं और छोटे बड़े टीले क्रमशः उच्च वर्ग और निम्न वर्ग के व्यक्तियों के निवास स्थान रहे होंगे जो मकानों की भिन्नता से स्पष्ट ही है। उसी प्रकार के योजनावद्ध नगर, नपे तुले मकान, लम्बे चौड़े, साफ सुयरे मार्ग, उपयोग में लाने वाली दूसरी वस्तुएं व मिट्टी के पात्र, जो हड़प्पा एवं मोहनजोदाड़ो से प्राप्त हुई हैं वे कालीबंगा में विशेष रूप से मिलती हैं।

खुदाई-कार्य आरम्भ होने के कुछ वर्षों के बाद ही छोटे वाले टीले में हड़प्पा की सम्यता के अवशेषों के नीचे दवे एक अन्य, पूर्व सम्यता के अवशेष मिले जिसे हड़प्पा-पूर्व की सम्यता (Pre-Harappan) की संज्ञा दी गई। यह सम्यता कई बातों में हड़प्पा की सम्यता से भिन्न है। इस काल के सम्पूर्ण मकान, कच्ची ईंटों के बने हैं, साथ ही मकान की दीवारें हड़प्पा की भांति ठीक उत्तर-दक्षिण या पूर्व-पश्चिम दिशा में नहीं हैं। ईंटों का अनुपात १:२:३ है जबकि हड़प्पा के लोगों ने १:२:४ के अनुपात की ईंटों को प्रयोग में लिया था। इनमें लघु पापाण औजार (Microlithic Tools) एवं तांबे की वस्तुएं हड़प्पा की सम्यता की तुलना में अधिक मिली हैं। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण भिन्नता मृदापात्रों में है जिन्हें छः किस्मों में विभाजित किया गया है। इस काल के वर्तन उतने कलात्मक एवं ठोस नहीं हैं जितने हड़प्पा के अवशेषों में मिले हैं। पात्रों के अध्ययन से यह भी पता चलता है कि उनमें से कुछ को अंतिम रूप देने के लिए ऊपरी सतह को गीली अवस्था में रगड़ा जाता था जिससे धारियां मिट गई हैं। इन मृदापात्रों को अधिकतर लाल जमीन पर काले रंगों से ही सादा ढंग से सुन्दर ज्यामितिक अभिकल्प (डिजाईन) देकर सजाया गया है।

इसी प्रकार की हड़प्पा-पूर्व की सम्यता के अवशेष पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान के कोट डीगी (Kot Digi) नामक स्थान में भी मिले हैं जिसे पाकिस्तान के महानिदेशक

(पुरातत्व) ने “कोट डीजी”, सम्यता की संज्ञा दी है। उनकी संक्षिप्त रिपोर्ट के आधार पर यह अवशेष भी हड़प्पा की वस्ती के पहले के हैं और पात्रों के अभिकल्प में भी कालीवंगा से काफी समानता है जिसमें खासकर वह नमूना है जिसके कोर एवं स्कंध पर हल्की पतली व काली लकीरें हैं। इस परत से मिली सम्पूर्ण वस्तुएं अधिक प्राचीन तथा अविकसित अर्थ व्यवस्था की परिचायक हैं।

इस नई खोज ने पुरातत्ववेत्ताओं के सामने एक और नई समस्या खड़ी कर दी है कि हड़प्पा-पूर्व के लोग कौन थे और उनका हड़प्पा के लोगों से क्या सम्बन्ध था? सम्भवतः कालीवंगा एवं कोट डीजी के अवशेषों के आधार पर निर्णय देना संभव न भी हो पर वर्तमान तथ्यों की मान्यता के आधार पर तब तक के लिए उनका वर्गीकरण करना आवश्यक है।

एक विकल्प यह भी हो सकता है कि हड़प्पा पूर्व के जन जिनकी अर्थ व्यवस्था हड़प्पा के लोगों से काफी पिछड़ी हुई थी विल्कुल भिन्न रहे हों और वाद में हड़प्पा के निवासियों ने उन पर अपना प्रभुत्व जमाया हो। दूसरी संभावना यह भी हो सकती है कि दोनों एक ही समुदाय की दो श्रेणियां रही हों। एक अपने विकास की आरम्भिक अवस्था में और दूसरी विकास के वाद की।

अब यह सिद्ध हो चुका है कि सैन्धल-सम्यता कहीं बाहर से नहीं आई थी वरन् भारतीय प्रायःद्वीप के ही इस भूभाग में उत्पन्न हुई और फैली। इसलिये दूसरी संभावना कि हड़प्पा और हड़प्पा-पूर्व की सम्यता एक ही जाति के दो पहलू रहे हों, यही मानना अधिक युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत होता है। कालीवंगा में दोनों के काल के बीच में कोई भी अन्तर दशा नहीं मिलती। हड़प्पा-पूर्व की सम्यता के मृदपात्र बहुत वाद तक हड़प्पा की परत से मिले हैं जो दोनों के समन्वय के प्रतीक हैं। हड़प्पा पूर्व की भी मूलतः तांबा, कांसा युग की ही सम्यता थी। हड़प्पा के लोगों के बाहर से आने और हड़प्पा-पूर्व के ऊपर तथा-कथित प्रभुत्व जमाने से संभावित विनाश के प्रमाणों के सर्वथा अभाव में उन्हें किसी भी प्रकार से विदेशी नहीं मान सकते। कार्बन १४ जांच (Carbon 14 Datings) के आधार पर भी दोनों के काल के बीच कोई अन्तर नहीं दीखता वरन् एक के वाद दूसरे का क्रम बिना किसी बाधा के लगातार चलता रहा जान पड़ता है।

संभवतः हड़प्पा की सम्यता का प्राचीनतम रूप विकसित व्यवस्था में आने से पहले वहीं रहा जो कालीवंगा और “कोट-डीजी” नामक स्थानों से प्राप्त हुए हैं जो समय पाकर अपने तकनीकी एवं भौतिक ज्ञान के सर्वतोन्मुखी विकास के फलस्वरूप विश्व विख्यात सैन्धव-सम्यता के रूप में प्रकट हुआ। यह क्रम वर्तमान युग में भी चल रहा है और एक ही स्थान और जाति विशेष के लोग बदलते हुए समय के साथ, आवास, पोशाक एवं आवश्यक उपभोग की वस्तुओं में निरन्तर परिवर्तन ला रहे हैं। विद्वानों ने अभी इस विषय पर अपना मत व्यक्त नहीं किया है फिर भी मेरी धारणा है कि इस तथ्य को अन्तिम रूप से सिद्ध करने के लिए सम्भवतः अधिक प्रमाण की आवश्यकता हो सकती है जो हड़प्पा की सम्यता के दूसरे स्थलों के अवशेषों की विस्तृत रूप से खूदाई से ही प्राप्त हो सकती है। मेरा विश्वास है कि राजस्थान की उर्वर भूमि ऐसे प्रमाणों को उपलब्ध कराने में समर्थ है।

गंगानगर जिले की एक रोचक एवं अद्वितीय मृण्मय कलाकृति

डॉ० सत्य प्रकाश

अभी कुछ दिन पूर्व ही लेखक को गंगानगर जिला स्थित प्राचीन मुण्डा ग्राम से एक मृण्मय कलाकृति प्राप्त हुई है। यह कलाकृति कुषाणोत्तर या प्रारम्भिक गुप्तकाल की है और इसका निर्माण काल इस कृति में प्रदर्शित कला के आधार पर ईसा की दूसरी या तीसरी शताब्दी ठहरता है। यह कलाकृति अपने में शिव के एक गण का अंकन प्रस्तुत करती है। इस कलाकृति का आकार लगभग ११" है। यह शिव के गण को विकराल रूप में प्रदर्शित करती है। शिव का गण मांस का शरीर धारी, बड़े बड़े बाल फैलाये, दांत निकाले तथा अपने दाहिने हाथ में मुग्धर लिये प्रहार की मुदा में है। उसके गले में सर्प है तथा सर्प का यज्ञोपवीत शरीर पर है। बायाँ हाथ सिर पर है। बड़ी-बड़ी मूँछ को धारण किये शिव का गण आगे पेट निकाले बायें पैर को नीचे की ओर मोड़े हुये स्थानक मुदा में है। यह प्रदर्शन "वीर भद्र" का है।

वीरभद्र दक्ष प्रजापति के यज्ञ ध्वंसक शिव रूप का है। इस यज्ञध्वंस की कथा के विभिन्न एवं विपम विवरण कई ग्रन्थों में हैं। इसके लिये कूर्म, वराह, भागवत् आदि पुराण उल्लेखनीय हैं। यद्यपि इस स्वरूप के प्रतिमा लक्षण में चतुर्भुज, भीषण, पाश्वदन्त, सायुध के साथ साथ वाम में प्रकाली प्रतिमा, दक्षिण सशृंग दाप दक्ष की प्रतिमा भी चित्रित मानी गई हैं किन्तु वर्तमान अंकन में वीरभद्र द्विबाहु हैं। द्विबाहु होने के कारण ही यह प्रतिमा सम्भवतः प्राचीनतम प्रदर्शन मृण्मय कला में है। प्रतिमा शास्त्र के ग्रन्थों में जो इस मूर्ति के लक्षण वर्णित हैं वे गुप्तोत्तर काल में स्थापत्य एवं मूर्ति कला के अंकन बने। यही कारण है कि स्थापत्य में मद्रास-संग्रहालय की ताम्रज्ञा तथा तेकांशी के शिवालय के मृण्मय स्तम्भ में ये अंकन देखने को मिलते हैं। विदित हो कि डॉ० टे० सी० हरी को मुण्डा से कुछ मृण्मय कलाकृतियां प्राप्त हुई थीं वे और बड़ापल, पीर सुल्तानरी थेड़ी, रंग महल आदि की कलाकृतियां कृपाण एवं कृषाणोत्तर व प्रारम्भिक गुप्त काल की आंकी गई हैं। अतः वर्तमान वीरभद्र की मृण्मय कलाकृति काल निर्माण के विचार से उसी काल की है जिस काल की डॉ० टे. सी. हरी द्वारा प्राप्त अन्य कलाकृतियां वीर भद्र का मृण्मय कला में इस युग में अंकन भारतीय मूर्तिकला के क्षेत्र में मुण्डा स्थान का अनुपम योगदान है।^१

इतनी प्राचीन कलाकृति इस प्रदर्शन को स्थान देते हुये सम्भवतः कहीं और से अभी तक ज्ञात नहीं है। इसके अनुपम और अति प्राचीन होने का एक कारण और भी है और वह है इस में वीरभद्र के उस स्वरूप का अंकन जो किसी भी ग्रन्थ में प्राप्त नहीं है। ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त वर्णन के आधार पर न यह जटा मुकुट युक्त है और न चतुर्भुजधारी है। इसका मस्तक क्षत है अतः यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि यह त्रिनेत्रधारी है या नहीं; इसमें खड्गवाण दाहिने हाथ में न होकर गदा है जो एक विशेष ढंग की है। इसके बायें हाथ में कोई भी अस्त्र नहीं है। यह आकृति अवश्यमेव 'दण्डा करोल वदनं भीमं भेखगजितम्' अवश्य है।^२

हेमाद्रि ने महादेव का वृषभद्ररूढ़ पंच मुखी (दक्षिण को लेकर शेष सौम्य) कहा है। वीर भद्र तथा वीरेश्वर के रूप जो 'पुराणों' में वर्णित हैं वे सब इससे मेल खाते

हैं । अग्नि पुराण एवं मत्स्य पुराण में 'वीर भद्रो वृषारूढो चतुर्मुखः' वर्णित है । पर यह रूप यहां मृण्मय कलाकृति में नहीं है । हेमाद्रि द्वारा मेख के उस विकराल रूप की छाया इसमें है जिसमें भैरव की मुखाकृति डरावनी है, पेट आगे को निकला है मुण्डों और सर्पों की माला डाले है ।³

हेमाद्रि द्वारा दिये वृत्तान्त के अनुसार इसमें केशों में "प्लेटें" न होने से तथा वारह हाथ न होने से यह रूप कला के क्षेत्र में वीरभद्र के रूप का अत्यन्त प्राचीन प्रदर्शन है । शैली के अध्ययन के आधार पर यह निःसन्देह ईसा की २-३ रीसदी का मृण्मय कला में वीर भद्र का प्रदर्शन है ।

संदर्भ

१. चतुर्भुजम् त्रिणेत्रं च जटा मुकुट संयुतम् ।
दक्षिणे खड्गवाणी च वामे चादं गदां धरम् ॥
दंष्ट्रा कराल वदन भीमं मखगजितम् रूपडमाला समायुक्तं पादुको परि सुस्थिनम् ॥
भद्र काली समायुक्तं करालं हृदि विन्यसेत ।
शीतत्वनिधि वीरस्य दक्ष भागे तु दक्ष ब्राह्मण भास्थितम् ।
अजवक्तं द्विनयने शृंग आदि ॥
२. चतुर्भुज त्रिनेत्रं च ज्वलाकेशं सुदंष्ट्रिणम् ॥
घण्टा माला धरं घोरं शिरोमाला विभूषितम् ।
वृश्चिकामरणं चैव नाग यज्ञो पवीतितम् ।
तूपुरं विमलं तद्वत्पादो पादुकभूषितौ ।
नीलकण्ठं च त्र्यक्षं च उरुकंचुकसंयुतम् ॥
खड्गखैट धनुवारणं कपालं भिण्डपालकम् रक्त वर्णं समायुक्तं मुग्रदृष्टि भयंकरम् ॥
एवं ध्यात्वा विशेषणं प्रतिष्ठां धारयत्ततः । —उत्तर कामिकागमः
३. लम्बोदन्तु कर्तव्यं वृत्तपिगल लोचनम् दंष्ट्रा कराल वदनं फुल्लना सापुटन्तथा
कपालमालिनं रौद्रं—सर्वतः सर्प भूषणम् । हेमाद्रि ।

राजस्थान में प्राचीन मंदिर स्थापत्य का क्रमिक विकास

विजय शङ्कर श्रीवास्तव

(१२ वीं शताब्दी तक के अभिलेखों में प्रयुक्त शब्दावली के परिप्रेक्ष्य में)

राजस्थान की मंदिर स्थापत्य परम्परा बहुत प्राचीन व महत्वपूर्ण है ।¹ इसकी पूर्व की तीसरी शताब्दी से लेकर बीसवीं शताब्दी तक यहाँ अनेक मंदिर निरन्तर बनते रहे । विभिन्न आक्रान्ताओं एवं आतंतायिओं द्वारा उनका विनाश भी होता रहा किन्तु फिर भी अद्यावधि जो प्राचीन मंदिर शेष रहे हैं—वे भी हमारी प्राचीन कला-समृद्धि;

धार्मिक-विकास एवं प्राचीन गौरव के निदर्शन के लिए पर्याप्त हैं। राजस्थान के विभिन्न परिसरों से प्राप्त असंख्य अभिलेखों के अध्ययन से, ऐसे अनेक मंदिरों का पता चलता है, जो कभी भारतीय जनता की श्रद्धा के केन्द्र रहे होंगे किन्तु आज काल-कवलित हो चुके हैं। सौभाग्य से राजस्थान में प्राचीन कई स्मारक, आज भी बच रहे हैं जो इस गौरवपूर्ण गाथा के मूक साक्षी हैं। यद्यपि उनमें से अधिकतर जीर्णोद्धार के कारण अपना मौलिक स्वरूप खो चुके हैं एवं कुछ पर्याप्त जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में—गाँवों और वीहड़ जंगलों में पड़े-संरक्षण की वाट जोह रहे हैं। कुछेक अपने मौलिक रूप में मानों अध्येताओं के लिए सामग्री प्रस्तुत करने मात्र को शेष बच रहे हैं।

राजस्थान से प्राप्त प्राचीन अभिलेखों में इन देव-भवनों के लिए अनेक शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है, जिनका अध्ययन स्वयं में एक रोचक विषय है। परोक्ष रूप में उनसे मंदिर-स्थापत्य के क्रमिक विकास की भ्रूँकी भी प्राप्त होती है। प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में राजस्थान से प्राप्त १२ वीं शताब्दी तक के अभिलेखों का इसी दृष्टि से अध्ययन करने की चेष्टा की गयी।

राजस्थान में देव-भवन के लिए जिन शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है—उन्हें स्थापत्य एवं विकास की दृष्टि से कालक्रमानुसार तीन वर्गों में रखा जा सकता है। प्रथम चरण में पूजाशिला, प्राकार एवं स्थान प्रभृति शब्द आते हैं जो मंदिरों के प्रारम्भिक स्वरूप के द्योतक हैं। ऐसा भास होता है कि गुप्तकाल (४-५ वीं शताब्दी) में ही सर्वप्रथम भवनात्मक मंदिरों (Structural Temples) के निर्माण का समारम्भ हुआ—उससे पूर्व देवताओं से सम्बद्ध किसी स्थान-विशेष की पूजा का ही अधिक प्रचलन था। कभी इस निमित्त स्थंडिल (चबूतरा) बना दिया जाता था जिसके चारों ओर लकड़ी या पत्थर की प्राकार (चारदीवारी) निर्मित कर दी जाती थी।^२ उस युग में देव-पूजा के लिए शिखरदार या पटावदार मंदिर बनाने की प्रथा का आरम्भ नहीं हुआ था। ऐसे चबूतरों को पवित्र मानकर प्रायः चारदीवारी से घेर दिया जाता था। इन्हीं पर देवमूर्तियाँ या उनके प्रतीक—चिन्ह रख पूजा की जाती थी। यक्ष, नाग, शिव, विष्णु आदि देवों के लिए खुले आकाश के नीचे चबूतरे पर ही पत्र-पुष्प आदि समर्पित कर पूजा की जाती थी। चित्तौड़ से उत्तर में लगभग आठ मील की दूरी पर वेड़च नदी के दाहिने किनारे पर स्थित नगरी ग्राम (प्राचीन मध्यमिका) में देव-अर्चा के निमित्त बने शुंगकालीन मंदिर का लगभग यही स्वरूप था।^३ वहाँ पूजा-शिला ही अर्चा की मुख्य वस्तु थी जिसे नगरी से प्राप्त शुंग-कालीन अभिलेख में 'पूजाशिला प्राकारो नारायण वाटका' रूप में उल्लिखित किया गया है। यहाँ स्थंडिल पर संकर्षण (वलराम)-वासुदेव (कृष्ण) की स्वतंत्र मूर्तियाँ^४ या उनकी उत्कीर्ण लघ्वाकृतियाँ एवं प्रतीक-चिन्ह रहे होंगे^५ जिनकी पूजा होती थी। डॉ० भंडारकर को सन् १९०४ की खुदाई में बाड़ा और उसके लगभग मध्य भाग में ईंटों का एक चबूतरा मिला था। यह पूजाशिला उसी पर रखी जाती रही होगी। दुर्भाग्यवशात् उत्खनन में 'पूजाशिला' नहीं प्राप्त हो सकी। यह स्थिति ईसवी सन् पूर्व की दूसरी-तीसरी शताब्दी की है। मथुरा से प्राप्त आयागपट्ट तथा नागार्जुनीकोंडा से, प्राप्त आयक-स्तंभ-लगभग इसी काल में पूजा की वस्तु थे जो मध्यमिका के 'पूजाशिला' के ही समान वर्मा हैं। जब इन आयाग पट्टों पर स्वस्तिक उत्कीर्ण होता था, तो उन्हें स्वस्तिक-पट्ट

या सोत्थिक पट और जव चक्र का चिन्ह उत्कीर्ण होता था, तो चक्र पट्ट कहते थे। मथुरा से ऐसे दोनों ही पट्ट मिले हैं। मथुरा के जैन स्तूप से प्राप्त तोरणपट्ट के ऊपर इस प्रकार के आयाग पट्ट भी उत्कीर्ण मिले हैं।¹⁵ बौद्ध संस्कृत साहित्य में स्थंडिल पर रखे हुए इन आयाग पट्टों के लिए 'पुष्पग्रहणी वेदिका' जैसे सार्थक शब्द का प्रयोग भी इसी दिशा में संकेत करता है। स्थापत्य की दृष्टि से वैराट (जयपुर) का मौर्यकालीन बौद्ध-मंदिर भी लगभग इसी प्रकार का था। वहां वर्तुलाकार प्रदक्षणा पथ (प्राचीर) के मध्य स्थंडिल के स्थान पर स्तूप था, जो पूजा की वस्तु थी। भरतपुर क्षेत्र में इस समय यक्ष-पूजा प्रचलित थी जैसा कि नोह, वीरावई, सोगर, अधापुर, पीरनगर आदि से प्राप्त एवं भरतपुर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित बृहदाकार यक्ष-प्रतिमाओं से सुस्पष्ट है।¹⁶ नोह ग्राम में 5 आज भी शुंगकालीन लगभग ६ फीट ऊँची 'जाख बाबा' की प्रतिमा पूजान्तर्गत है, वह भी संभवतः किसी स्थंडिल पर रखकर पूजा जाती रही होगी।

शिखरवद्ध और पटावदार भवनात्मक मन्दिरों के निर्माण के पूर्व देवताओं के मंदिरों को अभिलेखों में 'स्थान' कहा गया है। इसी पूर्व के मथुरा से प्राप्त अभिलेख साक्ष्यों में यक्ष और नाग देवताओं के 'स्थानों' का उल्लेख मिलता है। ऐसा भास होता है कि इस समय देवताओं और लोक-देवताओं के 'स्थान' की पूजा प्रचलित थी। उत्तर भारत और राजस्थान के गांवों में आज भी भैरूजी और चावण्ड माता के 'चवूतरे' और 'थान' या 'माता जी की साल'—इसी प्राचीन परम्परा के आधुनिक अवशेष हैं। मेवाड़ के नाँदसा ग्राम से कृत (विक्रम) संवत् २८२ (२२५ ई०) के यूप-स्तम्भ अभिलेख में ब्रह्मा, इंद्र, प्रजापति, महर्षि व विष्णु के लिए इसी प्रकार के 'स्थान' का उल्लेख है यथा 'ब्रह्मेन्द्र प्रजापति महर्षि विष्णु स्थानेषु कृतावकाशस्य'।¹⁷ गंगधार (भालावाड़) में महाराज विश्व-वर्मन के मंत्री मयूराक्ष द्वारा वि० सं० ४८० (४२३ ई०) में इसी प्रकार का 'विष्णु-स्थान' बनवाया गया था।¹⁸ पाँचवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में तो मध्यमिका-नगरी में भगवन्महापुरुष (विष्णु के चरण-चिन्हों) की पूजा के प्रमाण मिलते हैं यथा 'भगवन्महापुरुष पादाम्यां प्रासादः'।¹⁹ कामां (भरतपुर) के ६वीं शताब्दी के एक कुटिल अभिलेख में भी मंदिर के लिए 'स्थान' शब्द का ही प्रयोग हुआ है।²⁰ कुंभलगढ़ दुर्ग (मेवाड़) से प्राप्त अनेक वैष्णव व मातृका प्रतिमाओं के लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि ये मूर्तियाँ वहाँ किसी वट-वृक्ष के नीचे स्थापित थीं—'मूर्ति अस्मिन् वटे स्थापिता।' ऐसा मालूम होता है कि कुंभलगढ़ दुर्ग बनकर सम्पूर्ण न हुआ था और मामदेव का सुप्रसिद्ध मंदिर इस समय तक बन न सका था अतः महाराणा कुंभा ने प्राचीन परम्परानुसार देव-प्रतिमाओं को संवत् १५१५ व १५१६ में वट वृक्ष के नीचे ही स्थापित किया।²¹ मथुरा संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित एक सिर दल पर उत्कीर्ण संस्कृत लेख में कहा गया है कि स्वामी महाक्षत्रप शोडास के शासन-काल (८० ई. पू. से ५७ ई. पू.) में वसु नामक व्यक्ति द्वारा 'महास्थान' पर भगवान् वासुदेव के एक चतुःशाला मंदिर के तोरण (सिर दल से सुसज्जित द्वार) तथा वेदिका की स्थापना की गयी। 'महास्थान' से सम्भवतः संकेत कृष्ण जन्म-स्थान (कटरा केशवदेव) से है। डॉ० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल का मत है कि जब इतर लोक-देवताओं के मंदिर को 'स्थान' संज्ञा प्राप्त थी, तभी कृष्ण के मंदिर की विशिष्टता के कारण 'महास्थान' कहा गया है। तथैव, जहाँ अन्य देव मंदिरों को 'प्रासाद' की संज्ञा प्राप्त थी, तभी कृष्ण के मंदिर को उत्तम प्रसाद (प्रासादोत्तम) कहा जाता था जैसा कि

भिलसा (बिसनगर) के गरुड़-स्तम्भ के लेख में आया है—भगवतो प्रासादोत्तमस गरुडध्वज कारितो।^{१५} महाभारत (३।८४।१०३) में भी 'ब्रह्मस्थान' का उल्लेख आया है।

देश के अन्य क्षेत्रों की भाँति, राजस्थान में भी गुप्त-काल (४-५ शताब्दी) में विभिन्न सम्प्रदाय के देवताओं के लिए भवनात्मक मंदिरों (Structural Temples) का निर्माण शुरु हो गया था। मुकंदरा (कोटा) में इस समय का एक मंदिर आज भी जीर्ण-शीर्ण-श्रवस्था में विद्यमान है।^{१६} इस सन्धि-काल के मंदिर-स्थापत्य के संदर्भ में भी राजस्थान के तत्कालीन अभिलेखों से महत्वपूर्ण प्रकाश पड़ता है। भालावाड़ के गंगधार के वि० सं० ४८० तथा मेवाड़ के नगरी के वि० सं० ४८१ के अभिलेख इस दृष्टि से रोचक हैं। ये अभिलेख क्रमशः भालावाड़ एवं अजमेर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित हैं। गंगधार अभिलेख में देव भवन के लिए 'स्थान' तथा 'वेश्म' शब्दों का साथ साथ दो स्वतंत्र संदर्भों में प्रयोग हुआ है जो इस बात की पुष्टि करते हैं कि वि० सं० ४८० (४२३ ई०) में देवपूजा के निमित्त साधारण 'स्थान' के साथ ही भवनात्मक मंदिर भी बनने शुरु हो गये थे जिसका द्योतक 'वेश्म' है। यह संधि-काल की स्थिति है। मध्यमिका-नगरी के वि० सं० ४८१ (४२४ ई०) के शिलालेख में यद्यपि अर्चा की वस्तु विष्णु की स्वतंत्र मूर्ति न होकर, उनके चरण-चिन्ह मात्र हैं परन्तु उसके लिए भी भवनात्मक मंदिर निमित्त हुआ, जो 'प्रासाद' शब्द के प्रयोग से इंगित होता है यथा 'भगवन्महापुरुष पादाम्ब्यां प्रासातः। छोटी सादड़ी (मेवाड़) के अमरमाता मंदिर के वि० सं० ५४७ (४९० ई०) के शिलालेख में, जो आजकल उदयपुर संग्रहालय में है, उल्लेख है कि वहाँ महाराज गौरी ने देवी का शशिहार कुंद के समान धवल एवं शृंग के समान 'उत्तम प्रासाद' निमित्त करवाया।^{१७} संक्षेप में, शिलालेख साक्ष्यों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह स्पष्ट है कि पाँचवीं शताब्दी से 'वेश्म' और 'प्रासाद' के रूप में देवताओं के भवनात्मक मंदिर बनने लगे जो साधारण खुले 'स्थानों' के उत्तराधिकारी हैं।

कालान्तर में अब देव-भवनों के लिए राजस्थान से प्राप्त प्राचीन अभिलेखों में गृह, चैत्यगृह, भवन, हर्म्य, सौध, घाम, निकेत, आयतन, देव्यानिवेश, देवकुल, वसति (वसही) विहार, मठ, जगति प्रभृति शब्दों का भी प्रयोग शुरु हो गया जो उनके भवनात्मक-स्वरूप के ही निदर्शक हैं। मंदिर शब्द का प्रयोग राजस्थान में सर्वप्रथम सातवीं शताब्दी से प्रारम्भ हुआ जान पड़ता है। उदयपुर संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित कुंडा ग्राम के विष्णु-मन्दिर के वि० सं० ७१८ (६६१ ई०) के अभिलेख में 'शौरिघाम' व 'कैटभरिपु के भवन' के साथ 'मंदिर' शब्द भी आया है।^{१८} इसी प्रकार कंसुआ (कोटा) के शिवालय में लगे वि० सं० ७६५ (७३८ ई०) के अभिलेख में 'भवन' के साथ 'मंदिर' का उल्लेख है यथा 'एपानां मंदिर धूर्जटेः कृतम्' (पंक्ति सं० ४)।^{१९} उदयपुर संग्रहालय के एक अन्य शिलालेख में, जो मेवाड़ के भोमट प्रदेश की किष्किंधानगरी (वर्तमान: कल्याणपुर ग्राम) से प्राप्त हुआ था—कदधिदेव की सहचरी वोण्णा द्वारा शंभुगृह (श्लोक सं० १२) व 'शंभुमंदिर' निर्माण का उल्लेख है। साथ में उक्त मंदिर के उपयोगार्थ ४० द्रम्म दान देने की भी चर्चा है। कुटिल लिपि में उत्कीर्ण यह लेख ८-९ वीं शताब्दी का है।^{२०} तथैव, सीकर संग्रहालय के हर्षनाथ मंदिर के वि० सं० १०३० के अभिलेख^{२१} में 'हराय मंदिर कृते' (श्लोक सं० १७) तथा अजमेर संग्रहालय के राष्ट्रकूट धवल के वि० सं० १०५३ के वीजापुर-हस्तिकुंडी अभिलेख में 'अति सुन्दरम् प्रथम तीर्थं करं मंदिरम्' (श्लोकें

सं० ३३) आया है।^{२२} यद्यपि मंदिर के पर्याय रूप में भारत के अन्य क्षेत्रों में 'कीर्ति और कीर्तन' शब्द का प्रयोग भी हुआ^{२३} जैसा कि एलोरा के सुप्रसिद्ध कैलाश-मंदिर को उसके शिलालेख में 'कीर्तन' कहा गया है—कर्ताऽपि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी तन्नाम कीर्तनमकारयत् येन राज्ञा (हुश, इंडियन एंटीक्वेरी, भाग २२, पृ० २२८-२२९) परन्तु राजस्थान से प्राप्त प्राचीन अभिलेखों में उक्त शब्द का 'मंदिर' के संदर्भ में उल्लेख अज्ञात है। टोंक के मांडकिला ताल के वि० सं० ७४१ (६८४ ई०) के शिलालेख में वापी-निर्माण के लिए 'कीर्ति' शब्द अवश्य प्रयुक्त हुआ है।^{२४} संक्षेप में छठवीं शताब्दी के बाद राजस्थान में देवभवनों के लिए अनेक शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ जो उनके भवनात्मक स्वरूप की ओर ही इंगित करते हैं। सीकर के हर्षनाथ पर्वत पर वि० सं० १०१३ में चौहान-नरेशों के कुलदेव भगवान हर्षनाथ शिव (श्री हर्षः कुलदेवः—श्लोक सं० २७) का भव्य मंदिर बना जिससे सम्बन्ध वि० सं० १०३० का एक शिलालेख सीकर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है जिसमें इस देव भवन के लिए अनेक शब्द एक साथ प्रयुक्त हुए हैं यथा वरभवन (श्लोक १३), शिव भवन (श्लोक ४२), भवन (श्लोक सं० १८, ३४, ४४, ४५), मंदिर (श्लोक १७), हर्म्य (श्लोक ३३, ३४), शिवालय (श्लोक ३७), प्रासाद (श्लोक ४७) आदि।^{२५} यह शब्दावली भारत के अन्य प्रदेशों में प्राप्त तत्कालीन अभिलेखों में भी सर्वत्र प्रयुक्त हुई है।^{२६} यह राजस्थान के प्राचीन अभिलेखों में प्राप्त मंदिर के लिए प्रयुक्त पारिभाषिक शब्दावली का दूसरा वर्ग है जो मंदिर-स्थापत्य के भवनात्मक स्वरूप व विकास के द्वितीय चरण की भाँती प्रस्तुत करता है।

देश के अन्य भागों की भाँति ८-९ वीं शताब्दी से राजस्थान में भी विशालकाय मंदिर बनने लगे जिसमें जोधपुर क्षेत्र के ओसियाँ, लाम्बा, बुचकला, घटियाला आदि; नागौर के गोठ-माँगलोद ग्राम का दधिमाता मंदिर व छोटी खाद्ग के निकट अभी हाल में खोजी गयी देव कुलिकाओं युक्त वावड़ी; जयपुर परिसर का ग्रावानेरी व जय भवानीपुरा स्थित नकटीमाता मंदिर; चित्तौड़ दुर्ग का कालिकामाता एवं कुंभर्याम मंदिर; मेवाड़ का मेनाल, विजोल्याँ व वाडोली के शिवालय; भालावाड़ में चंद्रभागा के तट पर स्थित शीतलेश्वर महादेव मंदिर; कोटा के कंसुआ, अटलू व आम्वाँ के देवालय—आज भी अपनी मूल अवस्था में बच रहे हैं। कालान्तर में मंदिर-स्थापत्य की गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा के परिचालक पूर्व-मध्यकाल व मध्यकाल के असंख्य मंदिर राजस्थान में विद्यमान हैं जो भारतीय मंदिर स्थापत्य की विविधता के अध्ययन के लिए स्रोत-सामग्री प्रस्तुत करते हैं। इनमें से अनेक मंदिरों में तिथियुक्त अभिलेख भी हैं जो विकास-क्रम के अध्ययन की दृष्टि से अतीव महत्वपूर्ण हैं। मेवाड़ के सारणेश्वर (वि० सं० १०१०), ऊनवास (वि० सं० १०१६), जगत अम्बिका माता (वि० सं० १०१७), एकलिंगजी स्थित लकुलीश मंदिर (वि० सं० १०२८); नागदा का सासवहू मंदिर, ईसवाल, पालड़ी आटपुर (वि० सं० १२३६ व १२६५), दूस व विजोल्याँ के मंदिर, सीकर में हर्षनाथ मंदिर (वि० सं० १०१३), आत्रु क्षेत्र में विमलवसही (वि० सं० १०८८) व लूणवसही (वि० सं० १२८७), वर्माण का सूर्य मंदिर (१०वीं शती का प्रारम्भ); अलवर क्षेत्र का पारानगर स्थित नीलकंठ मंदिर (वि० सं० १०१६); कोटा में रामगढ़ भंडेदेवरा, कृष्णविलास व वृहादीत; भालावाड़ में भालरापाटन व चंद्रभागा तट पर स्थित मंदिर-समूह; मारवाड़ में किराड़ (वि० सं० १२१८ व १२३५) व केकीन्द के मंदिर (वि० सं० ११७६), वाँसवाड़ा में

अर्थात् मंदिर (वि० सं० ११३६), झुंजरपुर में देव सोमनाथ मंदिर-उस लम्बी शृङ्खला की कुछ उल्लेखनीय कड़ियाँ हैं—जिसके लिए राजस्थान ने भारतीय मंदिर स्थापत्य की दृष्टि से देश में विशिष्ट स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है।

तत्कालीन साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों द्वारा भी राजस्थान की मंदिरों सम्बन्धी समृद्धि पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ता है— इस दृष्टि से राजस्थान में रचित प्राचीन जैन वाङ्मय गवेष्य है। जालोर में वि० सं० ८३५ (७७८ ई०) में उद्योतन सूरि द्वारा विरचित 'कुवलयमाला' में प्राचीन गुर्जर प्रदेश जिसकी राजधानी भीनमाल थी—को देवमन्दिरों से समलकृत बताया गया है (रम्भो गुज्जर देसो जेहिक ओ देवहरएहि)। वि० सं० ९१५ में जयसिंह सूरि द्वारा नागोर में लिखित 'धर्मोपदेश माला विवरण' के अनुसार उस समय नागोर क्षेत्र में कई जिनालय थे (नागउराइसु जिणमंदिराणि जायाणि रोगाणि)। वहाँ कृष्णापि ने वि० सं० ९१७ में नारायण-वसति-महावीर जिनालय की प्रतिष्ठा की थी। काश्मीर नरेश जयापीड़ (७७९ ई०-८१३ ई०) के प्रधान मन्त्री दामोदर गुप्त ने ८वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में अपना सुप्रसिद्ध 'कुट्टनीमत' काव्य संस्कृत भाषा में लिखा। उसमें सुन्दर सेन अपने देशाटन के प्रसंग में कुसुमपुर (पाटलिपुत्र) से अर्बुदाचल (आवू) भी आया। वह आवू की रमणीयता से मोहित हो गया जहाँ देवताओं के मन्दिर (विविध विबुध भवनानि), वापी, उद्यान, सरोवर, नदियाँ विद्यमान थीं। २७ पाटन के भण्डार में हरिभद्रसूरि द्वारा लगभग वि० सं० १२१६ में रचित 'नेमिनाथ चरित' (अपभ्रंश) की ताड़पत्रीय प्रति द्वारा ज्ञात होता है कि चौलुक्य सिद्धराज जयसिंह और कुमारपाल के मंत्री पृथ्वीपाल ने अपने माता पिता के श्रेयार्थ अहिलपुर के पंचासरा पार्वरुह तथा चड्ढावली में मंडप बनवाया। २८ चड्ढावली आवू की तलहटी में स्थित चन्द्रावती नामक स्थान है। तथैव, मालवा के प्रख्यात कवि घनपाल ने सं० १०८१ के लगभग 'सत्यपुरीय महावीर उत्साह' की रचना की जिसमें उल्लेख है कि महमूद गजनवी के प्रकोप का शिकार सिरिमाल (श्रीमाल=भीनमाल), अणहिलवाड़ (अनहिलपुर पाटन), चट्टावली (चंद्रावती=सिरोही जिला), सोरठ, देउलवाड़ (देलवाड़ा, आवू), सोमेशरू (सोमेश्वर=सोमनाथ) के मन्दिर बने जिन्हें उसके घर्मान्ध सैनिकों ने तोड़ा, परन्तु केवलमात्र सिरि सच्चउरि (श्री सत्यपुर, सांचोर) का महावीर मन्दिर ही बच रहा। २९ श्री सत्यपुर (सांचोर) जैनियों का प्रमुख तीर्थ है। 'जग चिन्तामणि' ग्रंथ में 'जयड वीर सच्चउरि मंडप' एवं जिनप्रभसूरिकृत 'विविध तीर्थकल्प' (पृ० ९०-९६) में 'सत्यपुर की विशेष कल्प' का उल्लेख है। घनपाल ने ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों का काव्यात्मक भाषा में महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख किया है। 'अनेक तारागण मिलकर जिस प्रकार सूर्य के प्रकाश का भेदन नहीं कर सकते, अनेक विषधर मिलकर भी क्या गरुड़ को निगल सकते हैं? जिस प्रकार अनेक हिरणों का समूह मदोन्मत्त हाथी का कुछ नहीं कर सकता, उसी प्रकार अनेक तुर्क मिलकर भी सत्यपुर जितेन्द्र का कुछ नहीं विगाड़ सकते।' जिस प्रकार पहाड़ों में सुमेरु, तारागणों में दिवाकर तथा सुरलोक में इन्द्र श्रेष्ठ है, उसी प्रकार तीनों लोकों में जितेन्द्र सत्यपुरीय श्रेष्ठ है। यहाँ के महावीर मन्दिर और उमकी मूल प्रतिमा का वर्णन करते हुए कवि कहता है, "चांद सूरज के प्रकाश की भाँति उज्ज्वल, सागर की भाँति गम्भीर महावीर का अमृत वरसाने वाला प्रतिबिम्ब तीनों लोकों में अनुपमेय है (तिहुमणि तसर पडिबिम्बु नतिथ जसु उप्पम दिज्जुइ) ऐसे अनुपमेय

मन्दिर के वर्णन करने को अनेक मुंह और देखने को अनेक नैत्र चाहियें जब कि कवि के पास तो सिर्फ एक ही जीभ व दो आंखें मात्र हैं।³⁰

आठवीं शताब्दी और उसके बाद के राजस्थान से प्राप्त अभिलेखों से भी मन्दिर स्थापत्य के क्रमिक विकास पर अच्छा प्रकाश पड़ता है। सिरोही के कुसमा ग्राम से प्राप्त वि० सं० ६६३ के अभिलेख (जोवपुर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित) से सुस्पष्ट है कि पर्वत पर स्थित कुत्स ऋषि के अश्रम में सत्यभट्ट द्वारा बनवाये गये शिव मंदिर की विशालता प्रसिद्ध थी। लेख में इस मन्दिर को पूर्ण अन्तरिक्ष में स्थित (पूर्णान्तरिक्ष स्थिता) विशाल-देवभवन (पंक्ति १०) कहा गया है।³¹ धनिक ने वि० सं० ७१४ में टोंक जिले के कर्कोट नगर नामक स्थान में भगवान शङ्कर के अभिषेक के लिये एक विशाल दावड़ी निर्मित की जिसे भिल्लमाल के सुप्रसिद्ध सूत्रधार ग्रहभट्ट के तीन पुत्रों—सूत्रधार सूर्यवर्मन, ग्रहवर्मन तथा गंगावर्मन ने बनाया। वहीं दसवीं शताब्दी में वैद्यतड़ाग पर नागहरि नामक वरिष्क ने 'विष्णुग्रह' बनवाया तथा उसके पौत्र नारायण ने विविध शिखरों से युक्त शुभ्र मंदिरों द्वारा उस स्थल पर मानों विध्यव कैलास को ही मूर्तिमान कर दिया है।³² शेखावाटी क्षेत्र में वि० सं० ८७६ में गोण्डिका के ११ सदस्यों द्वारा शर्करामाता के मंदिर के सामने का देवताओं का उत्तम मंडप (सुराणां मंडपोत्तमः—श्लोक १३) बनवाया गया।³³ वि० सं० १०५५ में चौहान नरेश विग्रहराज के चचा वच्छराज (वत्सराज) व उसकी पत्नी दायिका ने शंकरादेवी के मन्दिर का जीर्णोद्धार किया और अगले वर्ष वि० सं० १०५६ में चौहान दुर्लभराज के राजत्व में शिवहरि के पुत्र तथा उसके भतीजे (भ्रातृव्यज) सिद्धराज ने देवी का मण्डप कराया। इस मण्डप का निर्माता सूत्रधार सीवटपुत्र आहिल था। यह रोचक है कि वि० सं० ८७६ की गोण्डिका के एक सदस्य घूसरजातीय आदित्यनाग ने हर्ष संवत् २०१ (८०७ ई.) में खंडेला में शिव और पार्वती का मन्दिर बनवाया। संभवतः यह अर्द्धनारीश्वर का मन्दिर था।³⁴

मंदिर-निर्माण भवसागर पार करने का एक साधन है इसलिये मेवाड़ के कुण्डा ग्राम के वि० सं० ७१८ के अभिलेख में वहां बने विष्णुमन्दिर को 'जहाज' के आकार का बताया गया है—'पीताकार भवनमकरोत् कैटभरिपोः' (पंक्ति ८)। तथैव, सीकर के हर्षनाथ शिवालय को, उक्त मन्दिर के वि० सं० १०३० के शिलालेख में 'कैलासाकार' कहा गया है—'कैलासाकारमेतत्प्रतपतुः भवनं हर्षदेवस्य (श्लोक ४६)। सीकर से ७ मील दूर पहाड़ी पर निर्मित हर्षनाथ का शिवालय भारतीय मंदिर स्थापत्य व मूर्तिकला का गौरव है।³⁵ हर्षनाथ शिव चौहान नरेशों के कुलदेव थे और जिनका यह भव्य एवं विशाल मंदिर वि० सं० १०१३ में प्रारम्भ होकर १२ वर्षों में बनकर तैयार हुआ। इस मन्दिर से सम्बद्ध वि० सं० १०३० का ४८ श्लोकों का महत्वपूर्ण शिलालेख सीकर संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित है जिससे इस मन्दिर की संरचना एवं मूर्तिकला के संदर्भ में रोचक तथ्य प्रकाश में आये हैं।³⁶ श्लोक संख्या १२ के विवरण के अनुसार इस मन्दिर में महामंडप, अन्य इतर देव प्रासाद (प्रासादमाला विरचित), रम्य तोरण द्वार जिसके सम्मुख नंदी प्रतिमा आदि थे जो सुमेरु पर्वत के शृंगों की प्रतिस्पर्धा कर रहे थे।³⁷ चौहान-नरेश सिंहराज ने प्रभूत दान दिया तथा इस शिव भवन पर स्वर्ण (कलश) चढ़ाया।³⁸ श्लोक सं. ३४ में कहा गया है कि अल्लट द्वारा निर्मित हर्षनाथ का यह हर्म्य अप्रमेय एवं अतुलनीय है तथा

अन्य देवताओं के भवनों का अपनी विशालता एवं सौष्ठव में अतिक्रमण कर जाता है। श्लोक सं ३८-४० से ज्ञात होता है कि पाशुपताचार्य भावद्योत ने पहाड़ी की तलहटी में सुन्दर कुआं (सत्कूपो), दिव्य वाटिका एवं गाय तथा अन्य पशुओं के लिये प्रस्तर-विनिर्मित जलाशय बनवाये क्योंकि शंभु के अर्चन के लिये सत्पुष्प एवं गायों को पयपान कराना-पुण्याकांक्षी जनों के लिये दो मुख्य कार्य हैं। साथ में उन्होंने मन्दिर के सम्मुख समतल व सुखगम्य प्रांगण बनवाया।^{३६} अन्ततः मंडप व देवाकृतियों से अलंकृत तोरणयुक्त इस मनोहर शंकर-भवन को 'स्वर्ग का खण्ड' ही प्रशस्तिकार ने कह दिया है जिसे मानो ब्रह्मा ने स्वयं रचा हो (श्लोक ४४)। वास्तव में इस मन्दिर और उसकी मूर्तियों का कला-सौष्ठव श्लाघनीय है। यहां की लिंगोद्भव, इन्द्र-सभा में देवताओं का नर्तन एवं गर्भगृह के अन्दर दीवारों में लगी १७ सुन्दरी प्रतिमाएं जिन पर विकटा, वैजयन्ती, वसुन्धरा (वसुन्धरा), सलिला, चन्द्रप्रभा, नाभिल, मण्डरिणी आदि नाम उत्कीर्ण हैं— भारतीय मूर्ति कला की अमूल्य निधियां हैं। भारत में यह एकमात्र मन्दिर है जिसके गर्भगृह के अन्दर सुर-सुन्दरी प्रतिमा जड़ी है।

जयपुर क्षेत्र के मालव नगर के वि. सं. १०४३ का मांडकिला तालाव अभिलेख भी कम रोचक नहीं है।^{४०} यहां नन्दन ने जो मन्दिर बनवाया वह हरि (विष्णु), शंकर-नारायण और खचर (सूर्य) को सादर समर्पित था और उसके सम्मुख कोष्ठागार एवं कूप भी था। साथ में उसमें धातु से अलंकृत नौ द्वार भी थे।^{४१} संयुक्त देवताओं के निमित्त बने मंदिरों की दृष्टि से राजस्थान बहुत ही समृद्ध है। आठवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में ओसियां में हरिहर का मन्दिर बना। चौहान अभिलेखों में 'त्रिपुरुषदेव' का उल्लेख प्राप्य है जो ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश का परिचायक है। अलवर की काली पहाड़ी पर पारानगर स्थित नीलकंठ महादेव के मध्यकालीन मन्दिर में इन तीनों देवताओं का एक साथ मन्दिर बना जिसका सभामंडप एक ही था। तथैव, मेवाड़ के देलवाड़ा-घासा ग्राम में 'हरिहरपितामह' के संयुक्त स्वरूप को स्थान देनेवाला एक मन्दिर वि. सं. ११६४ में बना। यहां इन देवताओं की स्वतन्त्र देवकुलिकाएं साथ-साथ बनीं। इस मन्दिर के वि. सं. १३१७ के अभिलेख में स्पष्टतः 'त्रिपुरुषदेव' का उल्लेख है।^{४२}

इतना ही नहीं, राजस्थान के इन प्राचीन अभिलेखों से मंदिर-स्थापत्य सम्बन्धी विभिन्न पारिभाषिक शब्दावली भी ज्ञात होती है। परमार पूर्णपाल के वसंतगढ़ के वि० सं० १०९९ के अभिलेख में सिंहकर्ण^{४३} व शिखर निर्माण की चर्चा है। कंसुआ के वि० सं ७९५ के लेख में कारापक का उल्लेख है। यह मंदिर निर्माण कार्य की देखरेख के लिये अधिकारी विशेष था। वर्मण के महावीर जिनालय की मुख-चतुष्की से प्रवेश करते ही अजितनाथ की देवकुलिका है जिसकी छत की एक शिलापट्ट पर वि० सं० १२४३ का लेख उत्कीर्ण है जिसमें पद्मशिला निर्माण का बोध होता है।^{४४} मंडप की छत में जो कलाकृति होती है— उसे ही पद्मशिला कहा जाता है। मारवाड़ के नडलाई के निकट भंवर के मन्दिर के सभामंडप के वि० सं० १२२८ के लेख में कहा गया है कि भिवदेश्वर महादेव मंदिर का मंडप अक्षसाम व डमा सूत्रधार महद्गुआ के पुत्र पाहिणी व उसकी भार्या जसदेवी द्वारा निर्मित किये गये इस कार्य निमित्त जो ईंट व पत्थर (पापाण्डिकायां) लगे उनमें ३३० द्रम्म व्यय हुए। उसे बनाने में महिदरा तथा इंदराक नामक सूत्रधारों ने भी मदद की।^{४५}

सौभाग्य से इन अभिलेखों के माध्यम से ही हमें इन भव्य देवप्रासादों के निर्माता-कलाकारों का भी पता चलता है। कंसुआ का शिवालय वि० सं० ७६५ में सूत्रधार नण्णक ने बनाया। अल्लट ने वि० सं० १०१० में सारणेश्वर मंदिर बनवाया जिस कार्य के लिये तत्कालीन कुशल सूत्रधार अग्रत नियुक्त हुआ।^{४६} वि० सं० १०१३ में बने हर्षनाथ के मंडप सहित एवं देवाकृतियों से समलंकृत चारू तोरण वाले मनोहर शंकर-भवन का निर्माता वीरभद्र का बेटा सूत्रधार चंडशिव था जो वास्तुविद्या में सर्वज्ञ एवं विश्वकर्मा की समकक्षता करने वाला था।^{४७}

मेवाड़ के देलवाड़ा घासा में वि. सं. ११६४ में निर्मित 'त्रिपुरुषदेव' मंदिर का निर्माता त्रिविक्रम एवं वि. सं १२२६ में सोमेश्वर चाहमान के राजत्व में विजोल्यां में बने पार्श्वनाथ मंदिर के निर्माण का श्रेय सूत्रधार हरसिंग, उसके पुत्र पाल्हुण और पौत्र आहड़ को प्राप्त हुआ।^{४८} शिल्पी शिवनाग का पता— पिडवाड़ा (सिरोही) के जैन मंदिर में दान दी गयी दो घातु-मूर्तियों के पादपीठ पर वि० सं० ७४४ के अभिलेख से होता है। लामा तारानाथ के अनुसार मरुदेश में गुप्तोत्तर युग में श्रंगधर नामक महान कलाकार था। देलवाड़ा के विमलवसही मंदिर का जीर्णोद्धार वि. सं. १२०४ में विमल शाह के वंशधर पृथ्वीपाल ने कराया था जो चौलुक्य कुमारपाल के मंत्री थे। इस अवसर पर विमलवसही में विशेषतः एक नया मंडप बना जिसकी छत में सुन्दर पद्म-लम्बक (Lotus-Pendant) है। इस मंडप में जो सरस्वती की मूर्ति है उसके दाहिने ओर हाथ जोड़े एक पुरुषाकृति है जिसके नीचे अर्द्ध-विकसित कमल के अतंस में 'सूत्रधार लोयण' अंकित है। तथैव, सरस्वती मूर्ति की वाई ओर हाथ में गज धारण किये 'सूत्रधारकेला' है। लोयण और केला-विमलवसही के सुन्दर विशाल मंडप और उसकी पद्म-लम्बक युक्त छत के निर्माता-कलाकार थे।^{४९} देलवाड़ा के सुप्रसिद्ध लूणवसही (वि. सं. १२८७) को बनानेवाला कलाकार शोभनदेव था।^{५०}

संक्षेप में, राजस्थान के ये अभिलेख मंदिर-स्थापत्य के क्रमिक विकास और समृद्धि की जो गाथा प्रस्तुत करते हैं— वह गवेण्य के साथ ही साथ पर्याप्त रोचक भी है।

संदर्भ

- विजय शङ्कर श्री वास्तव, 'राजस्थान की मंदिर स्थापत्य कला,' मरुभारती, पिलानी, भाग ११, अंक २, जुलाई १९६३, पृ० ४६-४९; रत्न चन्द्र अग्रवाल, 'राजस्थान के प्राचीन देव भवन,' वरदा, विसाळ, वर्ष ६, अंक १, जनवरी १९६३, पृ० १-२३; कृष्णदेव, Temples of North India, नई दिल्ली, सन् १९६९ पुस्तिका का पाँचवा अध्याय; भीष्म पाल—Temples of Rajasthan, पृ० २८-४१, जयपुर सन् १९६९ आदि।
- बौद्ध-स्तूपों की वेदिकाएँ (Railings) भी इसी प्राचीर के प्रतिरूप हैं। साँची और भरहुत के बौद्ध-स्तूपों से इस प्राचीर या चारदीवारी के स्वरूप का यथार्थ परिचय प्राप्त होता है। राजस्थान में जयपुर से लगभग ४० मील दूरस्थ वैराट के मौर्यकालीन (३ शताब्दी ईसवी पूर्व) बौद्ध-स्तूप में बतुंलाकार प्रदक्षिण पथ भी इसी ओर संकेत करता है। अशोक महान् ने अपने राज्य के २०वें वर्ष में

बुद्ध-जन्म स्थान लुम्बिनी (नेपाल) की यात्रा की और वहाँ उसने विशाल पत्थरों का बाड़ा (प्राकार) बनवाया जिसे रुमनदेई के स्तम्भ-लेख में 'सिलाविगउभीचा' अर्थात् 'शिलाविकटभित्तानि' की संज्ञा दी गयी है।

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चड्ढावली यंभि उ गच्छे मायामहीए सुहहेउ ।
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(पाटन मंडार सूची, गायकवाड़ ओरियण्टल सिरीज, पृ० २५५)
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सोमेसरू सो तेहि भग्गु जरायरा आरांदरा
भग्गु न सिरि सच्चउरि वीरू सिद्धत्यह नंदरा ॥
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 बहु कुरंग आरुइठ करहि किरि काय मयंदह
 पुणिवि बहुय तुरुक्क कांड सच्चउरि-जिण्णदह ॥
 जिमि महंतु गिरवरह मेरु गहगणह दिवायर
 जिमि महंतु सुखरह मज्झि उवर्हिहि रयणायरू ।
 जिमि महंतु सुखरह मज्झि सुरलोइ सुरेसरू,
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 एक जीह घणपालु भणइ इक्कु जं महनियतरु,
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४६. अग्रटनाम्ना सुसूत्रधारेण प्रारब्धं देवगृह—पंकित ५ (हलदार, इंडियन एंटीक्वेरी, LVII), पृ० १६२ ।
४७. वीर भद्रसुतः स्यातः सूत्रधारोत्र चंडसिव,
विश्वकर्मवसर्व्वंशो वास्तुविद्या (म्) ॥४३॥
येन निर्मितमिदं नोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समंडपम्,
सर्वदेवमयचारु तोरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा स्वयम् ॥४॥
४८. अक्षयकीर्ति व्यास, इपिग्राफिया इंडिका, भाग २३, पृ० १११ ।
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५०. शिवराम मूर्ति, Indian Sculpture, अध्याय १, The Sculptor in India.

आमेर का एक प्रतिहारकालीन मन्दिर

विजयकुमार

प्रतिहारकालीन कला के अनेक केन्द्रों का उद्घाटन राजस्थान के त्रिभिन्न क्षेत्रों से हुआ है । आवानेरी, ओसियां, बुचकला, भीनमाल इस युग की कला के कतिपय सर्वज्ञान केन्द्र हैं^२ । इधर भवानीपुरा (जयपुर) में इस समय के एक देवी मन्दिर तथा छोटी खाढ़ (नागीर) में वापी की खोज डा० सत्यप्रकाश द्वारा की गई है जो अति महत्वपूर्ण है^३ । लाम्बा तथा आउवा की प्रतिहारकालीन स्थापत्य सम्पदा को श्री मधुसूदन जी प्रकाश में लाने की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं । कुछ समय पूर्व जयपुर से लगभग सात मील दूर आमेर के मन्दिर समूहों में मुझे एक प्रतिहारकालीन मन्दिर देखने को मिला है । यह अब

कल्याण जी का मन्दिर नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। इस देव भवन का मौलिक रूप तो अब बदल गया है, क्योंकि इसका जीर्णोद्धार अकबर के समय में हुआ था। यह तथ्य मन्दिर के द्वार-विम्ब पर उत्कीर्ण एक लेख से स्पष्ट है (दृष्टव्य प्रस्तुत निबन्ध का परिशिष्ट)। मन्दिर के गर्भ-गृह द्वार का अधिकांश भाग, अन्तराल स्तम्भ तथा कतिपय प्रतिमायें ही अब इस भवन में प्रतिहारकालीन कला शैली का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। स्वतन्त्र प्रतिमाओं में अर्द्धनारीश्वर, सूर्य एवं गणेश की प्रतिमाएं प्रमुख हैं। शक्ति और शैव्य की प्रतीक इन प्रतिमाओं का प्रणयन प्रतिहार शासकों के दर्शन से प्रभावित विषय है। मन्दिर का प्रतिहारकालीन अंश शुष्क प्रस्तरकर्म द्वारा निर्मित है।

कल्याण जी के मन्दिर के गर्भ-गृह द्वार का आकार २ मीटर, ३० से. मी. × २ मीटर ३० से. मी. है। इस गर्भ-गृह द्वार का अधिकांश भाग प्रतिहारकालीन है। वाद को लगाया थोड़ा सा अंश अलग से रखा हुआ तो जान पड़ता ही है, साथ ही कला की दृष्टि से भी हीन कोटि का है। द्वार के दोनों ओर मकरवाहिनी गंगा तथा कूर्मवाहिनी यमुना का अंकन हुआ है, जो अति महत्वपूर्ण है। यह गुप्तयुगीन कला की परिपाटी है जिसको कुछ परिवर्तित रूप में प्रतिहारकालीन कला में भी स्थान मिला है। गंगा तथा यमुना के साथ चौराधारिणी परिचारिकाओं को भी दर्शाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त यहां पर द्वारपालों का अंकन किया गया है जो विशेष रूपेण उल्लेखनीय है। पत्र लता शाखा में मत्स्य, दादुर, मयूर, कूर्म, गज, मनुष्य, सर्प, सिंह आदि विविधानेक प्राणियों को भी स्थान दिया गया है। साथ ही रूप शाखा भाग में तत्कालीन जन-जीवन की वांकी भांकी प्रस्तुत करने वाले दृश्यों का अतिभव्यता से अंकन हुआ है। इसके आधार पर यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि उस समय के मानव का जीवन मौज और मस्ती से श्रोतप्रोत था। नृत्य, गायन, वादन, सुरापान के दृश्य, शृंगार करती हुईं शुक सुन्दरी, मनुष्य अथवा हिसक जन्तुओं से द्वन्द करते हुए पुरुष, गगनविहारी गंधर्वों का अंकन कुशलतापूर्वक हुआ है। प्रतिहारकालीन समाज के परिधान, अलंकरण और केश विन्यास का अध्ययन इन प्रतिमाओं के आधार पर किया जा सकता है। केश विन्यास शैली पर गुप्त कला का प्रभाव दृष्टव्य है। नाग शाखा में करबद्ध मुद्रा में नाग बड़े मनोहारी रूप में दिखलाये गये हैं।

अन्तराल का द्वार स्तम्भ अष्टकोणीय आधार पर निर्मित है। इसकी ऊंचाई २ मीटर, ७५ से. मी. तथा व्यास ०.४० से. मी. है। कीचक का इन स्तम्भों पर अभाव है। स्तम्भाधार पर सुर-सुन्दरियों तथा द्वारपालों का अंकन अति भव्य हुआ है।

अन्तराल के दक्षिण प्रतिमास्थान पर अर्द्धनारीश्वर प्रतिमा विराजमान है। यह प्रतिमा विकसित प्रतिहारकला की प्रतीक है। प्रतिमा का आकार ४६ से. मी. × ३५ से. मी. है। शिव प्रतिमा के पुरुष भाग में दो हस्त हैं। ऊपर के दक्षिण हस्त में त्रिशूल है जिससे सर्प खेल रहा है। नीचे के दक्षिण हस्त में पुष्प है। प्रतिमा में शिव का परिचारक नन्दी भी उपस्थित है। शिव का नारी भाग पार्वती का प्रतीक है जिसके ऊपरी वामहस्त में अण्डाकार दर्पण तथा वामहस्त में पात्र है। यहां पर नारी परिचारिका भी दृश्यमान है। शिव तथा पार्वती दोनों का ही केश विन्यास बहुत सुन्दर बन पड़ा है। ओसियां तथा आवानेरी से भी इस प्रतिमा के समान प्रतिमाएं प्राप्त हुई हैं।

शिव के इस रूप की कल्पना कुपाण-कलाकारों द्वारा सर्व प्रथम हुई तथापि गुप्त कला में भी इसको स्थान मिला। प्रतिहारकला में तो अर्द्धनारीश्वर देव का अंकन बहुपः मिलता है। खण्डेल (खेखावाटी) का संवत् ७०१ (६४४ ई०) का शिलालेख यह सूचना देता है कि वहां पर एक अर्द्धनारीश्वर मन्दिर था।^४

अन्तराल के वाम प्रतिमा स्थान में गणेश की प्रतिमा स्थापित है। यह प्रतिमा सिन्दूर से आच्छादित है। इसका सम्यक् अध्ययन इसके रसायनिक परिक्षण के पश्चात् ही प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है।

मन्दिर गर्भगृह के बाहरी दक्षिण भाग के प्रतिमा स्थान में ४६ से. मी. × ३८ से. मी. आकार की एक सूर्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित है। यहां प्रभा मण्डल युक्त सूर्य दोनों हाथों में पुष्प लिए हुए विराजमान हैं। मस्तक पर तिलक है। शीप पर अलंकृत मुकुट है। चरणों में लम्बे बूट हैं। प्रतिमा के दक्षिण ओर आज तथा उत्तर की ओर सिंह का अंकन हुआ है।

कल्याण जी का मन्दिर, आमेर के प्रतिहारकालीन अंश की चर्चा यहां पर की गई है। कला की दृष्टि से यह ८ वीं ९ वीं शताब्दी ई० की देन कहा जा सकता है। मन्दिर में स्थापित अकबर-कालीन शिलालेख का वर्णन परिशिष्ट में प्रस्तुत है।

सन्दर्भ

१. इस निबन्ध के लेखन में मुझे सर्व श्री प्रकाश वापना, संग्रहाध्यक्ष, सरदार संग्रहालय, जोधपुर; हरिश्चन्द्र मिश्र, प्रारूपकार, पुरातत्व एवं संग्रहालय विभाग, जयपुर तथा गजानन्द शर्मा, पुजारी, कल्याण जी का मन्दिर, आमेर का सहयोग प्राप्त हुआ। लेखक उक्त सभी बन्धुओं का कृतज्ञ है। मन्दिर का अध्ययन करते समय सभी व्यक्ति लेखक के साथ थे।

२. डी० आर० भण्डारकर की रिपोर्ट, पुरातत्व विभाग, भारत सरकार की पत्रिका, १९०९-१०, भाग १, प्यूपल जयकर तथा रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल के लेख, ललित कला, अंक १-२; रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, राजस्थान के प्राचीन देव भवन, विसाऊ।

३. डा० सत्यप्रकाश का राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस, १९६८ हेतु लेख।

४. राजपूताना संग्रहालय, अजमेर की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट, १९३५।

५. राजस्थान की सूर्य प्रतिमाओं तथा सूर्य मन्दिरों के विस्तृत अध्ययन हेतु दृष्टव्य श्री रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल का लेख राजस्थान की सूर्य प्रतिमाएं तथा कतिपय सूर्य मन्दिर शोध पत्रिका, उदयपुर, भाग ७, अंक २-३.

परिशिष्ट

कल्याण जी मन्दिर, आमेर का अभिलेख

यह शिलालेख आमेर के कल्याण जी के मन्दिर में गर्भगृह के द्वार विम्ब पर अंकित है। लेख का आकार ९३ से. मी. × १३ से. मी. वर्ग तथा अक्षराकार १ से. मी. × ०.७५ से. मी.

है। पंक्ति संख्या १ है। इसका लिपिकार, जगमाल खेता का पुत्र भगवती है। पुरोहित कान्ह का उल्लेख भी प्रस्तुत है। इसकी भाषा राजस्थानी है। “श” के स्थान पर ‘स’ का प्रयोग है। जैसे पाती-सह, मगसीर अभिलेख की लिपि सामान्य है।

प्रस्तुत अभिलेख के माध्यम से ज्ञातव्य है कि मन्दिर का जीर्णोद्धार सम्राट अकबर के समय में आमेर के राजा भगवंतदास के राज्य काल में हुआ।

इस लेख में आमेर के तत्कालीन शासक के रूप में भगवंतदास का उल्लेख है। कतिपय उन इतिहासकारों ने जिन्होंने फारसी के ग्रन्थों को अपने अव्ययन का आधार बनाया है, यह नाम भगवानदास वतलाया है। दोनों नाम इतिहासकारों में एक चर्चा का विषय रहा है।

शिलालेख का निम्नलिखित पाठ है:-

“संवत् १६३१ वरप मागसीरवदी २ पातीसह श्री अकबरराजी राजाधिराज श्री भगवतदासजी के राजी प्रोहित श्री कान्हाजी प्रसाद मडायैसुत्रधार जगमाल पंतासु भगवतीलप ताकतर”

(शिलालेख में प्रयुक्त “भ” अक्षर का पाठ ‘ज’ जैसा प्रतीत होता है।)

राजस्थान के बारहवीं से पंद्रहवीं शताब्दी ईसवी के शिलालेखों के आधार पर कुछ तौल एवं माप

डॉ० राम चंद्र राय

ग्राम सेवादी, तहसील बाली, जिज्ञा पाली के महावीर जी के मंदिर में नेमिनाथ जी के द्वार के छज्जे पर अंकित वि० सं० ११६३,^१ चैत्र सुदि १ तथा उसी मंदिर से प्राप्त वि. सं. १२१३^२ चैत्र वदि ८ सोमवार के शिलालेखों में ‘जवहारक’ का संदर्भ उपलब्ध है। इसी ग्राम में आजकल ‘जव का पुरा’ एक माप प्रचलित है जिस की तौल लगभग १० सेर की है। शब्द व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से हारक सं० ‘भारक’ रे है जिसका अर्थ ‘हर’ से है।

ग्राम भीनमाल तहसील जसवंतपुर, जिज्ञा जालौर के नील कंठ महादेव जी के मंदिर से प्राप्त वि. सं. १३०६^३ आश्विन वदि १४ के शिलालेख में तीन तौलों दी हुई हैं: से (सेर) मा (माणा) तथा पा (पाइला)। ग्राम नाडलाई के आदि नाथजी के मंदिर से यथा उद्धृत। वि० सं० १२०२^४ आसोजवदि ५ शुक्रवार के तथा ग्राम जूना, वाडमेर के एक जैन मंदिर से प्राप्त वि० सं० १३५२^५ वैशाख सुदि ४ के शिलालेखों में पा के स्थान पर ‘पाइला’ दिया हुआ है। माउंट आबू के एक जैन मंदिर से प्राप्त वि० सं० १४९४^६ वैशाख सुदि १३ गुरुवार के शिलालेख में ‘माणा’ तथा ‘मणी’ दो तौलों ही हुई हैं। ग्राम वधीणा जिज्ञा सिरोही के वि. सं. १३५६ वैशाख सुदि १० के शिलालेख में

‘सेई’ तथा ‘सितिका’ अंकित है। उन लेखों से इन तौलों के सामान्य प्रचलन का बोध होता है।

ग्राम किशनपुरा व नाडौल में १ सेर ८० तोले का है। धान नापने में ‘पाइली’ १ सेर की है। ग्राम वाली जिला पाली में ८ पाइली १ माणा की है तथा ग्राम किशनपुरा व नाडौल में ४ पाइली १ माणा के बराबर है। ४८ पाइली का एक पक्का मन है। ६ माणा अथवा १२ माणा विभिन्न ‘पाइली’ के अनुसार एक मन के बराबर है। इसी प्रकार से ‘पाइला’ मन भर वजन का है। ग्राम किशनपुरा में इसको ‘पाइलो’ भी कहते हैं।

तेल की माप उपर्युक्त वि. सं. १४६४ के शिलालेख में ‘केरस’ दी हुई है। ग्राम नाडलाई के वि. सं. ११८६^८ माघ सुदि ५ के लेख में तेल की माप ‘पलिका’ दी हुई है। इसी ग्राम के वि० सं० १२००^६ कार्तिक वदि ७ रविवार के लेख में यही माप पाइय दी हुई है जो संभवतः पलिका अथवा पलिका का एक विकसित रूप है किन्तु वि० सं० १२००^{१०} ज्येष्ठ सुदि ५ गुरुवार के लेख में पलिका की स्थिति स्पष्ट नहीं है। पलिका का संक्षिप्त रूप ‘प्ली’ भी प्रयुक्त हुआ है।

उपर्युक्त वि. सं. १२०२^{११} के शिला-लेख में गाड़ का भी उल्लेख है। वाली तथा नाडौल के क्षेत्र ये आज भी एक गाड़ी १२ मन की है। उपर्युक्त वि. सं. ११८६ के शिलालेख में ‘घडी’ का संदर्भ प्रस्तुत हुआ है जो वाली में लगभग ५ सेर की है। पाली के एक जैन मंदिर में अंकित वि. सं. १२१०^{१२} के शिलालेख में ‘वालिंगु’ अंकित है जो ग्राम नाडौल में २० कदम जमीन के लिए है।

ग्राम नाडलाई के वि. सं. १२००^{१३} कार्तिक वदि ७ रविवार के ही लेख में कुछ मापें अस्पष्ट हैं :—भा, प्रु क० तथा पुगु। वि० सं० १४६४^{१४} के माउंट आवू के लेख में ‘एतलु’ दिया हुआ है। इन तौलों का स्पष्टीकरण आवश्यक है।

वि. सं. ११६७ तथा वि. सं. १२०० के शिला-लेखों में जमीन की माप रहट से रहट की दी हुई है। ग्राम सांडेराव, तहसील वाली जिला पाली के वि. सं. १२२१^{१५} के शिलालेख में एक माप ‘हाएल’ दी हुई है जो आज हल की माप है जिसके अंतर्गत २० अथवा २५ बीघा जमीन है।

संदर्भ

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सिवाने के कुछ शिलालेख

कु० साधना रस्तौगी

जोधपुर से करीब ६० मील दूर स्थित सिवाने में प्राचीन इतिहास सम्बन्धित शिलालेखों का बाहुल्य है।

दो शिलालेख क्रमशः तख्तसिंह और वि० स० १८६६ के हैं। ये सिवाने के किले पर जाते समय मार्ग के चबूतरे पर स्थित हैं।

आगे चलकर इसी मार्ग में एक मन्दिर श्री कृष्ण भगवान का बना हुआ है। उसके सभ्म के नीचे एक लेख है जो इतना पढ़ा गया:—

“श्री श्री ठाकुरजी.....गढ
सीवाणो माहे श्री जी ने राय”
जी.....म दे.....म
संवत जेठ वदि.....ठाकुरां
६४०...
ठाकुर जी विराजमान...”

सिवाने के किले की दूसरी पोल के बाहर बायें हाथ की दिवार पर एक लेख है—

“संवत १५६४ वर्षे श्रावण
वदि ११ लिघो श्ररन में...
मालो.....मा...
दे सत्र करमचन्द प ६१०”

इसी संवत का एक लेख द्वितीय पोल के अन्दर बायें हाथ की दिवार पर है। यह पूर्ण पठनीय हैं और प्रकाशित है। इसमें नीचे सूत्रधार करमचंद और सूत्रधार केसव के नाम हैं।

इसी पोल की दाहिनी हाथ की दिवार पर एक लेख जो इतना पढ़ा गया :—

“रा संवत १६११ वरखे आसाढ
सुद.....दीने सुत्रधार
कना रतनौ.....ग.....ठी”
वाता.....”

इसी गढ़ के अन्दर एक सकड़ा दरवाजा है। उसकी दाहिनी हाथ की दिवार पर एक लेख है जो इतना पढ़ा गया—

“श्री संवत १५६४ वर्ष
दिने महाराज
 धिराज महाराज श्री मालदेव
 लीघो लेड़ी न मा.....”

गढ़ के नीचे बहुत खंडहर पड़े हैं और जंगल है मार्ग भी उबड़-खाबड़ है पर वहां बहुत लेख हैं। कुछ देवल भी बने हैं जिनमें ऊपर एक घुड़सवार की मूर्ति और नीचे लेख है। इसी प्रकार के कुछ लेख खंडित अवस्था में नीचे पड़े हैं। इन्हीं लेखों में से एक लेख मैंने पढ़ा जिस पर ऊपर उक्त खंडित मूर्ति बनी है जो कि खंडित अवस्था में भी भगवती दुर्गा की प्रतीत होती है जो कि अपने वाहन पर सवार है। नीचे के लेख का कुछ अंश इस प्रकार पढ़ा गया।

“संवत १५.....ष
 श्री सु सुदि १० गड पुख
 श्री मालदेव.....ल.....द
 धा.....प.....त्र.....स.....द.....स”

सिवाने के किले की द्वितीय पोल की बाहरी दाहिनी हाथ की दिवार पर भी एक लेख है पर वह चूने से भर गया है एक तरफ चक्र भी बना है ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कहीं का पत्थर यहां दीवार में जड़ दिया है पढ़ा नहीं जाता।

सिवाने के पास हिमलज माता के मन्दिर में ५ शिलालेख हैं जो कि चौहानों से सम्बन्धित बताये जाते हैं और वि० स० १२२० के है।

सिवाने के पास पीपलोन एक गाँव है उसके ऊपर पहाड़ी पर राव मालदेव और वीर दुर्गादास ने विपत्ति के समय वास किया था यहां मालदेव ने मालगढ़ नामक एक किला जो अब खंडहर अवस्था में है बनवाया था और वीर दुर्गादास ने हल्देश्वर मन्दिर का निर्माण कराया था। यहां भी कुछ लेख हैं।

सामन्तसिंह का महत्वपूर्ण लेख

प्रकाश वापना

प्रस्तुत लेख जालौर के राजा सामन्तसिंह सोनगरा चौहान का है। इसका राज्य-काल वि० स० १३३६ से १३६२ तक था। इस राजा के अभी तक प्राप्य लेख केवल १६ ही ज्ञात हुए हैं। जिनमें से भीमपाज से चार, सिरोही से चार और बाकी के लेख भूतपूर्व जोधपुर राज्य के विभिन्न प्रस्थलों से प्राप्त हुए हैं। उपरोक्त लेख वाड़मेर से १० मील दूर स्थित पुराने खण्डहरों में स्थित आदिनाथ के जैन मन्दिर का है। प्राचीन समय में यह स्थल ही इस क्षेत्र का केन्द्र नगर था।

यह लेख दस पंक्ति का है इससे सामन्तसिंह के पहले प्रथम पंक्ति में बाहंडमेरों शब्द लगा है जो उल्लेखनीय है। इस लेख में श्रीकरणीय अधिकारी वीरा, एवं सेलहथ, वेला, तलार, गिगन आदि पदों का उल्लेख है जो समसामयिक शासन व्यवस्था के अध्ययन की दृष्टि से बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। प्रस्तुत लेख में "श्रीकरणीय की जगह" "श्रीतकरण" शब्द दिया है जो सम्भवतया खोदने वालों की गलती प्रतीत होती है। श्रीकरण शब्द ही यहां होना चाहिए। यह मुद्रा सम्बन्धी अधिकारी था, जो प्रायः मुख्य अमात्य ही होता था।

मध्यकाल के कई शिलालेखों और ग्रन्थ प्रसस्तियों में श्रीकरण शब्द मुख्यामात्य के साथ ही अंकित है। श्रीकरणीय पद का उपयोग करता था और राजकीय मुद्रा भी अपने पास में रखता था। उदाहरणार्थ, वि० सं० १३०६ में लिखी 'पाक्षिक वृत्ति' ग्रन्थ की प्रशस्ति उल्लेखनीय है। यह महारावल संवत् १३०६ वर्ष माघवदि १४ सोमे स्वस्ति श्री मदाधारे महाराजाधिराज भगवान्नारायण दक्षिण उत्तराधीन मानमर्दन श्री जयर्तिसिंह देवतत्पट्ट विभूषण राजा श्री "श्री" तेजसिध विजयराज्ये तत्वादपयापजीविनः महं० श्री तन्हण प्रतिपत्तो श्री श्री 'करणायि' समस्त मुद्रा व्यापारान्परिपंथयति (१) (पीटरसन ३)

दूसरा उल्लेखनीय अधिकारी 'सेलहथ' है। मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के लेखों में इस शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। 'सेलहथ' अधिकारी पूर्व-मुगलकालीन शासन व्यवस्था में महत्वपूर्ण नगर अधिकारी होता था। सेलहथ और तलार को सम्बोधित करके दान दिये जाते थे।

'सेलहथ' सम्बन्धी कुछ प्रमाण आठ के विमल वसंत के वि० सं० १३५० के लेख में इस प्रकार है:—

"श्री अर्बुदेत्य ठकुर-सेलहथ-तलार प्रभृतीनां कापड़ा प्रत्यय देव द्व ६..... श्री अर्बुदेत्य ठकुरेण सेलहथ तलार प्रभृतिभिः तथा चन्द्रावृत्याः श्री युत्रा (मुद्रा) अकुलेन महंतक सेलहथ तलार डोकरा प्रभृति भिद्य (इच) किमपि न याचनीयं..... (अर्बुद जैन)

सामन्तसिंह के पिता चाचिगदेव के भीनपाल का संवत् १३३२ के लेख में "श्रीकरणीय पंच सेलहथड़ा" शब्द ही है। इससे इस अधिकारी को नगर में कर लगाने का अधिकार था। रत्नमन्दिर गणिका द्वारा रचित उपदेश तरंगणी के पृष्ठ १८४-१८५ में 'सेलहथ' की सेवाएं चोरों को पकड़ने के लिए किये जाने का उल्लेख है। सामन्तसिंह के वि० सं० १३४५ के सांचोर शिलालेख से बहुत महत्वपूर्ण अधिकारी माना गया है। दान देते समय दानदाता कई वार 'सेलहथ' को भी सम्बोधित करके दान देते थे।

लेख का तीसरा उल्लेखनीय अधिकारी तलार है। यह अधिकारी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था का माना गया है। यह पुलिस का अधिकारी होता था। प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में इसके द्वारा चोरों को पकड़ने के कई प्रसंग मिलते हैं। कुछ लेखों में 'तलार भाव्य' का भी उल्लेख मिलता है। उदाहरणार्थ:—संवत् वि० १२२१ माघ वदि २ शुक्ले-तथा राष्ट्रकूट पातू केल्लण तद् भातूज उत्तमसिंह सूद्र काल्लण आहल आसल अपानि गादिभिः तलाराभाव्यर्थ स (:) गट सत्कात् अस्मिन्नेव कल्याण के द्रः १ प्र दत :

चीखा के विक्रम संवत् १३३० के लेख में तलारक्षमदन और उसके पूर्वजों का वर्णन है। इस लेख के अनुसार उद्धरण को मथनसिंह ने नागदा का तलारक्ष बनाया।

क्षेत्रपाल प्रतिमा :— इस उत्कीर्ण लेख में आदिनाथ के जैन मन्दिर में प्रतिष्ठित प्रतिमा क्षेत्रपाल का उल्लेख है, राजस्थान के जैन मंदिरों में प्रायः ही इस प्रकार के व्यन्तर अथवा सहायक देव मिलते हैं जो कि वस्तुतः शान्त-गण देव हैं। क्षेत्रपाल की प्रतिमा स्थापना के सम्बन्ध प्राचीन शिल्प शास्त्रों में कई प्रसंग मिलते हैं। उदाहरणार्थः—

क्षेत्रपालो महाकायः क्षेत्रानुरूप नायतः ।

ऊर्ध्वकेशः श्यामवर्णः पिगाक्षी त्रयनेत्रकः ।

पादुका भिरूठो नग्नो विकृत दण्डं षडभुजः ।

मुद्गरपाश उमरू दक्षिण हस्ते धारयेत् ।

वामे च श्वानां कुश दण्डे क्षेत्रपालस्तुतुच्यते ।

जिनस्य दक्षिणांगे स्थाप्य ईशान दक्षिण दिशि ।

वि० सं० १२३४ के ओसिया ग्राम में “सच्चिका देवी” प्रासाद-कर्माणा चंडिका शीतला श्री सच्चिका देवी क्षेमकरी श्री क्षेत्रपाल प्रतिमानिभिः सहित जंघावर आल्यश्रेयोर्थं करतके” आदि चित्तीड़, राणकपुर, वाली, ओसिया, नाकोड़ा आवू, नागदा आदि के मन्दिरों में क्षेत्रपाल की प्रतिमा उपलब्ध है।

लेख की तीसरी पंक्ति में मन्दिर के लिए कर लेने का भी महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख है। उभयमार्गीय शब्दों का अर्थ दोनों ओर से जिनका अर्थ यह लिखा जा सकता है कि जो माल सिंघ और मारवाड़ से आयात-निर्यात होवे उस पर कर लगाने की व्यवस्था है। इसमें १० ऊंट और २० दौलों को छूट देने की व्यवस्था है। नाडलाई में प्राप्त रायपाल वि० सं० ११६५ के एक लेख में भी इस प्रकार का उदाहरण है। “गुहिलान्वयः राऊ० उद्धरण सुनुना भोक्तारि ठा. राजदेवेन स्व पुण्यार्थे स्वीपदान मध्यात् मार्गच्छतानामागतानां वृषमाना शेकोपु। यदाभात्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विं (श) तिभोंभागः।

लेख में पाइल शब्द और भीमप्रिय दश विशोपत्ता क्रमशः नापतौल एवं मुद्रा हेतु है। पाइल एक प्रकार का नाप है। गोडवाड प्रदेश में इसका स्वरूप श्री डी० आर० भण्डारकर के अनुसार इस प्रकार है।

४ पाइला—१ पाइली।

५ पाइली—१ मणां।

४ मणां—१ सेई।

२ सेइ—१ मण।

श्रीधर द्वारा लिखित गणितसार में इस प्रकार के माप-दण्ड का भी उल्लेख है। गुजरात में और उत्तरी-पश्चिमी राजस्थान में आज भी इस प्रकार के माप-तोल प्रचलित हैं।

प्रस्तुत लेख में वर्णित शासक सामन्तसिंह के समय के एक लेख में “सेई” नाम का उल्लेख मिलता है। संवत् १३५६ वर्ष वैशाख शुद्ध १० नडुसदेशे वागसीण ग्रामे महाराज

श्री सामन्तसिंह देवकल्याण विजयराज्ये वाघसीण ग्रामीय अरहट प्रति गोधूम सेई ४ ढी बड़ा प्रति गोधूम सेई २ श्री शांतियात्रा महोत्सव निमित्त दत्ताः ।

विशोपकं नामक शब्द राजस्थान के प्राचीन शिलालेखों में मुद्रा हेतु माना गया है । कभी कभी क्षेत्र के राजा का नाम भी मुद्रा शब्द के साथ ही अंकित कर देते हैं । इसमें अंकित भीमप्रिय विशोपका सम्भवतया गुजरात के भीमदेव के नाम पर है । यह मुद्रा संभवतया तांबे की है । इस लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि मुद्रा उस समय प्रचलित थी । परन्तु सबसे महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख महाजन सभा द्वारा कर अथवा लाग संग्रहीत करने व लेने का अधिकार है । राजा भी कर लगाने से पूर्व महाजन सभा की स्वीकृति लेता था । जो सार्थवाह से पाईला अनाज या दश भीम विशोपक प्रत्येक आयता-निर्यात् वाले से संग्रहीत किया जाकर और इस सम्पूर्ण राशि से १/२ क्षेत्रपाल की पूजा और १/२ चाऊंडराय देव के निमित्त खर्च किया जाय ।

महाजन सभा द्वारा कर संग्रहीत करने के उल्लेख नाडील चौन्हानों के कई शिलालेखों में अंकित हैं । उदाहरणार्थ साँडैराव के वि० सं० १२२१ के लेख में 'लाग' राजकीय भोग मध्यात् युगधर्याः हाएल एक प्रदतः ।

सम सामयिक कृति कान्हडदे प्रवन्ध से इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था का वर्णन है ।

अप्रकाशित शिलालेख

मूलपाठ

प्रस्तुत लेख में १० पंक्तियां हैं :—

- (१) ऊं ॥ संवत् १३५२ वैशाख सुदी ४ श्री वाहडमेरो महारा-
- (२) जकुल श्री सामन्तसिंह देव कल्याण विजय राज्ये तन्नियु ।
- (३) क्त श्रीतकरणों म० वीरा सेल (०) वेलातुल (तुला०) भां० गिगन प्रभृतयो ।
- (४) धर्माक्षरारणिं प्रयच्छति यथा । श्री आदिनाय मध्य प्रति-
- (५) णमान् श्री विहनमर्दन क्षेत्रपाल चउंडराजदेवयो-
- (६) उभयमार्गी (गीं) य समायात सार्थ उष्ट्र १० वृष २० उभवादिपि ऊर्ध्व ।
- (७) सार्थ प्रति द्वयोर्देव योः पाईलापदे भीमप्रिय दशविशोपका-
- (८) अर्द्धोद्धेन ग्रहीतव्याः । असीलागा महाजनेन म (मा) विता । यथोक्तं ।
- (९) बहुमिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः सागरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू ।
- (१०) मी (मिः) तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ छ ।

ब्रिटिश राजदूत सर थॉमस रो अजमेर में

जगत नारायण

सर थॉमस रो इंग्लैण्ड के राजा जेम्स प्रथम के द्वारा मुगल बादशाह जहांगीर के दरबार में ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के लिए भारत में व्यापारिक सुविधाएं प्राप्त करने के लिए एक संधि करने के उद्देश्य से भेजा गया था । जिस समय वह भारत पहुँचा उस

समय जहांगीर अजमेर में था। जहांगीर अजमेर इस समय १८ नवम्बर, १६१३ ई० को आया था और १० नवम्बर १६१६ ई० तक उसका यहाँ मुकाम रहा। इस प्रकार से लगभग तीन वर्ष तक अजमेर में जहांगीर का निवास रहा और मुगल परम्परा के अनुसार जहांगीर का हरम, उसके अधिकांश दरवारी एवं उसकी सेना का अधिकांश भाग उसके साथ ही रहा। इस समय अजमेर में जहांगीर का नियमित दरवार लगता था और सारे साम्राज्य के प्रशासन का यहीं से संचालन होता था। मुगल परम्परा के अनुसार वादशाह नियमित रूप से 'भरोखा' से अपनी जनता को दर्शन देता था, हाथियों की कुश्ती, अपराधियों को दण्ड, न्याय कार्य सभी यहीं से होता था। उपर्युक्त तथ्यों का पूरा पूरा विवरण हमें रो द्वारा लिखित संस्मरणों में स्थान स्थान पर मिलता है।

अजमेर में जहांगीर के इस निवास काल में दो बहुत ही मुख्य घटनाएँ हुईं, जिसमें से एक था नूरजहाँ का जहांगीर पर सर्वोच्च प्रभाव स्थापित होना, एवं दूसरा ब्रिटिश राजदूत सर थामस रो का आगमन।

अजमेर में ही नूरजहाँ, जहांगीर को पूर्णतया अपने वश में ला सकी थी। चश्मा-ए-नूर, वह स्थान था जिसको कि जहांगीर ने अपनी नूर जहाँ के नाम से सजवाया और संवारा था, यही दोनों की एक दूसरे के निकटतम आने की स्थली थी। जहांगीर जब भी यहाँ आता, नूरजहाँ के सानिध्य में लगातार कई दिनों निवास करता। अतः ऐसे स्थान पर जहाँ कि दरवारी जमघट कम रहता हो ऐसा सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि नूरजहाँ जैसी चतुर महिला के लिये अपने पति को अपने सम्पूर्ण प्रभाव में लाने के लिये यह पूर्ण उपयुक्त स्थान रहा होगा। स्वयं जहांगीर द्वारा अपनी जीवनी में वर्णन है कि अपने इस अजमेर आगमन के दौरान वह दरगाह हवाजा साहब पर ६ वार, पुष्कर १५ वार तथा चश्मा-ए-नूर ३८ वार गया।^१ यह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि चश्मा-ए-नूर दोनों के उमड़ते प्रेम के लिये एक उपयुक्त स्थल था। नूरजहाँ इस काल में जहांगीर को पूर्णतया अपने वश में ला सकी थी। इसका पूरा पूरा समर्थन और पक्का प्रमाण हमें सर थामस रो के वर्णन से मिलता है, जबकि वह अपने संस्मरण में लिखता है कि बिना नूरजहाँ और उसके पिता इतिमादुद्दौला एवं भाई आसफखान की स्वीकृति के बिना जहांगीर के दरवार में कोई भी कार्य करा लेना सम्भव न था।^२

सर थामस रो २३ सितम्बर १६१५ ई० को अजमेर पहुँचा था और यहाँ लगभग १ दिसम्बर १६१६ ई० तक रहा।^३ यद्यपि रो अपने संस्मरण में जहांगीर से अपने मिलने एवं व्यापारिक सुविधाएँ प्राप्त करने का विवरण बड़े ही विस्तृत रूप से करता है और इसका कुछ महत्व भी है परन्तु उतना नहीं जितना कि ब्रिटिश कालीन भारत के इतिहासकारों ने इसको बढ़ाया है और इसका सबसे प्रमुख प्रमाण है कि जहांगीर ने अपनी तुजुक ए-जहांगीरी में एक भी स्थान पर इसका वर्णन नहीं किया है क्योंकि मुगलों के लिये यह एक सामान्य सी घटना थी परन्तु इसका तात्पर्य यह भी नहीं कि इसका कोई महत्व नहीं क्योंकि रो के दिन प्रतिदिन के संस्मरण यदि बड़ा-चढ़ा कर भी लिखे गये हों फिर भी उनमें कुछ सत्यता तो होनी ही चाहिए।

२३ दिसम्बर १६१५ ई० को अजमेर पहुँचने के पश्चात् शीघ्र ही रो जहांगीर से न मिल सका क्योंकि वहाँ पहुँचते ही वह अस्वस्थ हो गया था। रो अपने संस्मरण में

लिखता है कि बादशाह ने उसकी अस्वस्थता जान कर समय २ पर संदेश वाहक उसके स्वास्थ्य लाभ के समाचार जानने के लिये भेजे। अन्त में जब रो पूर्ण स्वस्थ हों गया तब १० जनवरी १६१६ ई० को वह जहांगीर के दरवार में उपस्थित हुआ जहां कि उसकी अच्छी आबगहत हुई। साथ ही उसे इस बात की भी छूट दे दी गई कि वह अंग्रेजों से बादशाह को सलाम कर सके।

सर थामस रो का जहांगीर के पास आने का मुख्य उद्देश्य ईस्टइंडिया कम्पनी के लिये भारत में व्यापारिक सुविधाएँ प्राप्त के लिये संधि करना था। इसके साथ ही साथ सूरात में अंग्रेजों के साथ मुगल गवर्नर द्वारा की गई ज्यादतियों के लिये न्याय एवं नुकसान के लिये हरजाना प्राप्त करना था।

जहांगीर के दरवार में पहुंच कर रो ने अनुभव किया कि यहां उसका कार्य बहुत दुस्तर है क्योंकि एक तो जहांगीर ने शासन कार्य से अपनी रूचि हटा ली थी और शराब एवं ऐशो आराम में मस्त था और राज का सारा कार्य नूरजहां अपने पिता इतिमादुद्दौला एवं भाई आसफ खान की सहायता से चला रही थी। आसफ खान एवं साम्राज्य के बड़े पदाधिकारी सब रिश्वतखोर हो गये थे और बिना धूस दिये कोई कार्य करा लेना सम्भव न था और जैसा कि रो ने अपने १३ जनवरी १६१६ के पत्र में लिखा था वह किसी को भी धूस न देगा। वह एक राजा की ओर से राजा के पास आया है दरबारियों से उसका कोई वास्ता नहीं। रो को यह अवसर १२ मार्च १६१६ ई० को मिला और उसने जहांगीर के समक्ष दरवार में अपनी मांग रखी। रो ने स्वयं लिखा है कि इस बातचीत के दौरान जहांगीर रो पर एकदम काफी नाराज हो गया था जिससे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है, जैसा फोस्टर ने लिखा है कि रो व्यापारिक सुविधाओं के लिये फरमान के स्थान पर मुगल बादशाह एवं अपने राजा के बीच एक पक्की संधि चाहता था और शायद अंग्रेज राजा को अपने समक्ष बताने की बात जहांगीर को नागवार लगी हो और उसने रो पर क्रोध प्रकट किया हो।

रो लिखता है कि इस बीच आसफखान ने उसको यह कह कर कि तुम अपनी मांगे लिखित रूप में बादशाह के सामने पेश करो, बादशाह का गुस्सा शान्त किया। बाद में रो ने लिखित रूप में अपनी मांगे आसफखान के सामने पेश की और आसफखान ने रो को काम पूरा कराने के लिये तरह-तरह के आश्वासन भी दिये। परन्तु जैसा कि रो ने महसूस किया बिना धूस कोई कार्य मुगल दरवार में असम्भव था अतः आसफखान उसके काम को टालता रहा और समय व्यतीत होता रहा। इस प्रकार अपने कार्य में कोई अफलता न होती देख रो ने बादशाह से पुनः अर्ज करने का विचार किया और इस बार उसने बादशाह के पास अच्छी अच्छी अंग्रेजी शराब पहुंचा कर उसको खुश कर लिया और उससे अपने इच्छित कार्य में आंशिक सफलता प्राप्त करने में सफलता प्राप्त कर सका। कुछ ही दिनों में बादशाहने एक फर्मान पर दस्तखत कर दिये जिसके अनुसार सूरात में अंग्रेजों के निवास के लिये सुविधा प्रदान की गई व देश में अंग्रेजों के मुक्त आगमन की रियायत दे दी गई।^५ परन्तु सूरात के गवर्नर को रो तो दण्ड दिलवाना चाहता था वह सम्भव न था क्योंकि यह प्रदेश शाहजादा खुर्रम के शासन में था अतः रो ने इसे भूल जाना ही उचित समझा और स्वयं समझौता करके सूरात के गवर्नर

जुलफिकार खान से ६,००० मोहमुदी प्राप्त करके भगड़ा समाप्त किया। इस प्रकार यह धारणा हमारे सामने स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि मुगल बादशाह अपने आप को संसार के महानतम शासकों में से एक समझता था और इसीलिये उसने इंग्लैण्ड के राजा के राजदूत को एक सामान्य दूत समझा और उसकी संधि सम्बन्धि बात पर नाराजगी प्रकट की तथा उसकी याचना पर केवल कुछ रियायतें उदारता वश ही भारत में अंग्रेजों को प्रदान की थीं।

इस प्रकार रो अपने प्रमुख उद्देश्य एक बराबर की संधि मुगलों एवं ब्रिटिश सम्राट के बीच कराने में असमर्थ रहा परन्तु अन्य कुछ दिशाओं में उसका आगमन काफी महत्व पूर्ण रहा। रो ने अजमेर के अपने प्रवास काल में कई प्रकार के अनुभव किये जिनसे कि तत्कालीन अजमेर के सम्बन्ध में मुगल दरबार, मुगल शानशौकत एवं मुगल दरबार में व्याप्त कूट नीति, षडयन्त्र एवं धूस प्रथा का पूर्ण परिचय प्राप्त होता है।

यद्यपि राजनैतिक दृष्टि से रो को विशेष महत्व नहीं दिया गया परन्तु विदेशी अजनबी दूसरी सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति का व्यक्ति समझ कर उसे दरबार में स्थान एवं सम्मान दिया गया। रो अपने संस्मरण में ऐसे कई उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है कि जब कि वह दरबार के अतिरिक्त रात्रि के समय बादशाह जहांगीर द्वारा शराब पार्टी पर आमन्त्रित किया गया।

बादशाह अपने उच्च अधिकारियों एवं मित्रों से मुक्त-हास्य वार्तालाप किया करता करता था। ऐसे ही एक अवसर पर बादशाह ने रो से जिक्र किया कि उसने यद्यपि अपने कई चित्र बादशाह को दिखलाये हैं, परन्तु एक युवती का अति सुन्दर चित्र जो कि उसके पास है नहीं दिखलाया है। यह चित्र रो की प्रेयसी का था जिसकी कुछ वर्ष पहिले मृत्यु हो गई थी। बादशाह के हुक्म पर रो ने वह चित्र हाजिर किया और युवती का सौन्दर्य और चित्र की कलात्मकता देख कर जहांगीर इतना प्रभावित हुआ कि उसने चित्र को स्वयं रखने की इच्छा प्रकट की परन्तु रो ने जैसा लिखा है कि यह चित्र उसे संसार के सबसे बड़े खजाने से भी ज्यादा कीमती है इससे विलग होने से असमर्थता प्रकट की। एक प्रेमी के हृदय की आन्तरिक स्थिति समझते हुए उदार बादशाह ने केवल रात्रि में अपनी बेगमों को दिखा कर उसे लौटा देने का वायदा किया। रो एक अन्य स्थान पर जहांगीर के समय में कलाकारों की उच्चता का वर्णन करते हुए लिखता है कि जब उसने बादशाह को एक सुन्दर यूरोपीय चित्र दिखाया तब बादशाह ने उसको रो से कुछ समय के लिये ले लिया और बाद में जहांगीर ने उसके एक चित्र के स्थान पर वैसे छः चित्र दिखलाये तो उनमें इतनी समता थी कि रो अपना पुराना चित्र बहुत समय देखने के पश्चात् बड़ी ही मुश्किल से पहिचान सका तब जहांगीर ने रो को उसका पुराना चित्र तथा अपने पुराने कलाकारों द्वारा चित्रित एक चित्र देकर विदा किया।

रो के अजमेर आगमन के सम्बन्ध में एक असत्य घटना का काफी प्रचार है वह यह कि जहांगीर ने रो के आगमन को शंका की दृष्टि से देखा और सोचा कि यह अंग्रेज उसके किले के भीतर के मार्गों को न देख ले अतः उससे किले के भीतर मिलने के स्थान पर उससे भरोखे में ही मुलाकात की तथा भरोखे में भी उसे सही रास्ते से नहीं अपितु सड़क पर से टोकरी

में बिठा कर ऊपर खींचा गया। रो ने अपने संस्मरण में बादशाह से मिलने के जो वर्णन किये हैं उनसे उपर्युक्त विचार पूर्ण असत्य प्रतीत होता है। रो के संस्मरणों में दरवार में उपस्थित होने के साथ ही साथ किले में रात्रि के समय जहांगीर के पास जाने के कई वर्णन हैं। यद्यपि बादशाह का दरवार किले से बाहर उस स्थान पर लगता था जिसे कि आजकल बादशाही इमारत कहा जाता है और जिसे कि भूल से किसी अमीर का निवास स्थान माना जाता है परन्तु गुसलखाना अकबर द्वारा निर्मित अजमेर के किले के मध्य में स्थित था अतः जहांगीर द्वारा किले के मार्ग छिपाने या रो से शंकित होने की बात हास्यास्पद ही प्रतीत होती है। हां यह सम्भव है कि किसी एक अवसर पर जबकि बादशाह भरोखे में था और रो बादशाह से मिलने आया हो तब टोकरी या अन्य किसी माध्यम से दरवाजे के बाहर से ही रो को भरोके के पास ऊपर पहुँचा कर बादशाह के सामने उपस्थित किया गया हो क्योंकि भरोके का असली मार्ग हरम के मध्य होकर था जहाँ कि शाही व्यक्ति के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई नहीं जा सकता था। स्वयं रो के वर्णन में स्पष्ट है कि उसे एक बार जहांगीर के सामने भरोके में उपस्थित होने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ था जहाँ कि उसने बादशाह को ऊपर से ही भेंट स्वीकार करते हुए व इनमें देते हुए देखा और इसके पास ही पीछे पर्दे के छेद में से वेगमों को देखा जो कि उसको कोतुहल दृष्टि से देखती हुई हँस रही थी।

इस प्रकार से रो का अजमेर आगमन यद्यपि जहांगीर से मिलकर एक व्यापारिक सन्धि कराने की दिशा में असफल रहा परन्तु यहाँ रो ने जो अनुभव किये हमें तात्कालीन अजमेर, मुगल दरवार, मुगल कुटनीति एवं जहांगीर की उदार प्रियता एवं कला का पूर्ण परिचय प्राप्त होता है।

संदर्भ

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खेड़ापे के रामस्नेही

प्रासूसाल भिवानी

अठारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में मारवाड़ में भक्ति मार्ग की निर्गुण शाखा के रूप में एक नये सम्प्रदाय का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ जो 'खेड़ापे के राम स्नेही' नाम से विख्यात हुआ। केवल राम नाम का स्मरण करने के कारण इस सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायी 'रामस्नेही' अर्थात् राम से स्नेह करने वाले कहलाते हैं। यद्यपि इस सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायी रामानन्द को अपना आदि गुरु मानते हैं तथापि अपनी साधना पद्धति व साध्य के स्वरूप के विषय में उन्होंने अधिकतर कबीर मार्ग का ही अवलम्बन किया है। रामानन्द व कबीर की शिक्षाओं से प्रभावित होने पर भी सम्प्रदाय की स्वयं अपनी विशिष्ट मान्यतायें हैं जिनके कारण, वह इतर सम्प्रदायों से अपना पृथक अस्तित्व रखता है।

इस सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक रामदास थे। रामदास का जन्म वि० सं० १७८३ में फाल्गुन मास में कृष्ण पक्ष की १३ को मारवाड़ के वीकमकोर गांव में हुआ था। इनके पिता का नाम शार्दूल था और माता का नाम अण्णभी था।^१ इनकी जाति के विषय में विद्वानों में मतभेद है। खेड़ापे के पीठाधीश्वर हरिदास इनको वैष्णवधर्मी बतलाते हैं परन्तु इनकी जाति का कोई उल्लेख नहीं करते। मारवाड़ की जनगणना रिपोर्ट में इनको प्रचलित लोकमत के आधार पर भांभी जाति का बतलाया गया है।^२ स्वामी दयानन्द ने अपने ग्रंथ 'सत्यार्थ प्रकाश' में इनको देह जाति का लिखा है।^३ तत्कालीन मारवाड़ नरेश महाराजा विजयसिंह ने जाति से निम्न होकर उच्च व निम्न वर्ग के लोगों को समान रूप से उपदेश देने के अभियोग पर इन्हें देश से निष्कासित कर दिया था। रामदास ने स्वयं अपनी वाणी में अपने आपको 'हीण जाति' का स्वीकार किया है।^४ रामस्नेहीं सन्तों ने भी इनका जीवन वृत्तान्त लिखते समय इनकी जाति का कहीं उल्लेख नहीं किया है।^५ इसका कारण संभवतः इनका निम्न जाति का होना हो, परन्तु साधना पद्धति एवं भक्ति मार्ग में किसी जाति या वर्ग विशेष से सम्बन्धित होना अथवा न होना कोई महत्त्व नहीं रखता।

रामदास के मन में भक्ति के अंकुर बाल्यकाल से ही विद्यमान थे। उन्होंने उन दिनों लोगों में प्रचलित शक्ति व पंचपीरों की उपासना को अपनाया। आत्मसन्तोष न होने पर उन्होंने योग-साधना की जिससे उन्हें कुछ सिद्धियाँ भी प्राप्त हुईं। लोगों को चमत्कार दिखाने के कारण उनकी प्रसिद्धि चारों ओर फैलने लगी। एक समय ये ज्ञान चर्चा करते हुये गौधेलावं गांव में आये। वहां एक स्त्री से कबीर की एक साखी सुनकर उनको अपने अपूर्ण ज्ञान का भान हुआ। सत्य के अनवेषण और सद्गुरु की खोज में वे सिंहथल आये। वहां हरिरामदास के उपदेशों से प्रभावित हो, उन्होंने उनको अपना गुरु बनाया।^६

हरिरामदास से 'राम मंत्र' की दीक्षा लेकर वे विचरण करते हुये मारवाड़ के सीलवा ग्राम में आये। वहां उनको एक आत्मानुभूति हुई जिसके फलस्वरूप उन्होंने अपना पंथ अलग से चलाने का निश्चय किया। खेड़ापे (मारवाड़) को अपना प्रधान साधनास्थल बना, उन्होंने अपने पंथ का प्रचार मारवाड़ व उसके बाहर बीकानेर, गुजरात, मालवा इत्यादि प्रदेशों में किया। खेड़ापे को अपनी प्रधान गुरु—गद्दी मानने वाले 'खेड़ापे के रामस्नेही' कहलाते हैं।^७

खेड़ापे में अपनी पृथक से गद्दी स्थापित करने पर भी रामदास ने अपनी गद्दी, सिंहथल से सम्बन्ध बराबर बनाये रखा। आज भी इस सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायी सिंहथल व खेड़ापे में कोई भेद नहीं मानते। सम्प्रदाय के जब कभी भी बड़े मेले भरते हैं, सिंहथल व खेड़ापे के महन्तों को वे एक साथ निर्मात्रित कर उनके प्रति एकसा सम्मान प्रदर्शित करते हैं।

रामदास स्वयं गृहस्थी थे। उन्होंने अपने शिष्यों को भी गृहस्थ छोड़ने का उपदेश नहीं दिया। वे ईश्वर भक्ति के लिये सन्यास, वेश-भूषा व आडम्बरों को निरर्थक समझते थे। जाति-पाति से परे रहकर उन्होंने सभी जातियों के व्यक्तियों को अपना शिष्य बनाया। उनके पुत्र एवं शिष्य दयालदास वि० सं० (१८५५-१८८५) ने भी उनका अनुसरण किया किन्तु उनके पुत्र एवं शिष्य पूरनदास वि० सं० (१८८५-१८९२) ने शुद्धों को अपना शिष्य नहीं बनाया। इसका कारण उनका स्वयं का उच्च जाति का होना बतलाया जाता है।

पूरनदास के समय से इस सम्प्रदाय की ख्याति बढ़ने लगी। पूरनदास के गुरु भाई दामोदरदास और हीरादास ने महाराजा तरुतसिंह से अपने तथा अपने महंत के लिये राज्य से पालकी का कुरव प्राप्त किया। दामोदरदास के शिष्य भावनादास, और रामब्रह्म को भी महाराजा जसवंतसिंह द्वितीय के समय^६ राज्य से सम्मान प्राप्त था। उन्होंने जोधपुर में बड़े बड़े रामद्वारे बनवाये हैं। पूरनदास के पश्चात् उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी^{१०} में खेड़ापे के महन्त क्रमशः अर्जुनदास (वि० सं० १८६२-१९५०) व हरलालदास हुये (वि० सं० १९५०-१९६८)।

इस सम्प्रदाय के अनेक सन्तों ने अपनी वाणियों द्वारा मारवाड़ व उसके बाहर जनता के सामान्य वर्ग का मार्गदर्शन कर उसे भटकने से बचाया, साथ ही हिन्दी साहित्य की अपूर्व सेवा भी की। वाणी, साहित्य के रचयिताओं में रामदास, दयालदास, पूरनदास, अर्जुनदास, परशराम, सेवगराम तथा दौलतराम के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

संगठन—रामदास के अनेक शिष्यों में से बावन शिष्य प्रसिद्ध हुये जिन्होंने मारवाड़ व उसके बाहर अपने लिये 'रामद्वारों' (साधना-स्थल) का निर्माण करवा लिया। इन रामद्वारों को 'धम्भे' व उनके प्रमुख को 'धम्भायत' कहा जाता है। खेड़ापे की गद्दी पर बैठने वाला इन सबका प्रधान होता है। उसे महन्त कहा जाता है। रामदास के पश्चात् खेड़ापे की गद्दी पर बैठने वाले अन्य महन्तों के शिष्यों को 'धम्भायत' न कह कर 'खालसा' कहा जाने लगा।

वाह्यचार व आडम्बर के विरोधी होने के कारण रामदास ने सम्प्रदाय में किसी विशिष्ट वेश-भूषा का विधान नहीं बनाया। उनके समय में रामस्नेही गृहस्थियों की भांति धोती, दुपट्टा, बागलबन्धी, अंगरखा, गोल पगड़ी इत्यादि सभी प्रकार के श्वेत वस्त्र पहिन्ते थे। परंतु दयालदास के समय में साधनाक्रम के अनुसार रामस्नेही सन्तों के लिये पृथक-पृथक^{११} वेश-भूषा निर्धारित कर दी गई। सेवगराम ने वेश-भूषा व आचरण के आधार पर इनको विरक्त, उपराम, गूदड़, विदेह और परमहंस की श्रेणियों में बांटा है।

विरक्त- विरक्त सन्त किसी एक स्थान^{१२} पर अधिक समय तक नहीं ठहरते हैं। वे निरंतर विचरण करते हुये वस्ती के बाहर तालाब या नदी के किनारे शमशान अथवा किसी मन्दिर में ठहर जाते हैं। वे सदैव अपने साथ जल-पात्र व जल छानने का वस्त्र रखते हैं। भोजन केवल 'देह को भाड़ा' देने के लिये करते हैं। प्रातः एवं सन्ध्या के समय वे गुरु वाणी का पाठ करते हैं और जाति-पाति का भेदभाव किये बिना वे सभी लोगों को उपदेश देते हैं।

उपराम—ये नये वस्त्र कभी धारण नहीं करते हैं। दूसरे सन्तों के फटे पुराने वस्त्रों से अपने लिये कंधा, लंगोटी आदि बना लेते हैं। ये भी जलपात्र व जल छानने का वस्त्र सदैव अपने साथ रखते हैं। आवश्यकता से अधिक वे किसी से भाषण नहीं करते, और प्रायः मौनव्रत धारण किये रहते हैं।

गूदड़—गूदड़ अपने शरीर से किसी प्रकार का मोह नहीं रखते हैं। वे अपने पहिन्ने के लिये वस्त्र किसी से नहीं लेते। मार्ग में पड़े फटे पुराने चिथड़ों को उठाकर उन्हें क्रोयलों से काला रंग लेते हैं और उन्हें सीने के लिये धोवी के घाट से एकत्र किये घागों का प्रयोग

करते हैं। अपने लिये जल—पात्र सड़क पर पड़ी किसी टूटी फूटी हंडिया का बनाते हैं। गूदह किसी को उपदेश नहीं देते हैं परन्तु स्वयं गुरु वाणी का पाठ निरन्तर करते रहते हैं। भिक्षा के लिये वे कहीं नहीं जाते हैं। एक स्थान पर पड़े रहते हैं। यदि कोई भोजन करा जाता है तो कर लेते हैं अन्यथा निराहार ही रह जाते हैं। वे सदैव उन्मत्त भाव से रहते हैं।

विदेह—विदेह अपने शरीर पर केवल एक लंगोटी धारण करते हैं। वे राख या घास पर पड़े रहते हैं और कभी नहाते नहीं हैं। वे भी भिक्षा के लिये किसी के घर नहीं जाते।

परमहंस—परमहंस सदैव नग्न रहते हैं व अपने शरीर के बाल बढ़ा लेते हैं और एक स्थान पर अजगर की भांति पड़े रहते हैं।

इनके अतिरिक्त 'प्रवृत्त' और 'गृहस्थी' रामस्नेहियों में दो और भेद हुये।

प्रवृत्त—प्रवृत्त एक स्थान पर रामद्वारों में रहते हैं ये सिले हुये कपड़े पहिनते हैं।¹³ वस्ती में जाकर भिक्षा ले आते हैं जिससे वे अपना व अन्य सन्तों का जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं।

गृहस्थी—इस श्रेणी के अन्तर्गत साधारण गृहस्थी आते हैं जो अपना सामान्य व्यवसाय करते हुये, रामस्नेहियों की आचार-संहिता का यथाः शक्ति पालन करते हैं।

आचार संहिता—(१) रामस्नेही निम्न लिखित चार बातों के पालन का व्रत धारण करते हैं।

(अ) **राम नाम का स्मरण**—रामस्नेही केवल राम नाम का स्मरण करते हैं। 'आन देवताओं'¹⁴ में रामदास ने 'राम' को छोड़कर अन्य सभी देवताओं को गिना है। परशुराम ने आन देवताओं में देवी, भैरव, पावू, रामदेव, इत्यादि देवों के नाम गिनाये हैं जिनकी उपासना हिंसा प्रधान है।¹⁵

(ब) **कंठी**—कंठी की वनावट के विषय में इन सन्तों की वाणी में कोई प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया है किन्तु परम्परानुसार ये लाल चन्दन की कण्ठी पहिनते हैं। आचार्यों ने कण्ठी को हर समय धारण करने का आदेश दिया है।

(स) **खेड़ापे के रामस्नेही** अपने ललाट पर रामानंदी सम्प्रदाय का वैष्णव तिलक लगाते हैं। परशुराम अपने तिलक में रामनाम की छाप लगाते थे किन्तु अर्जुनदास के समय से वैष्णव तिलक सम्प्रदाय में पूर्ण रूप से अपना लिया गया।

(ड) **सत्य**—रामस्नेही सदा सत्य भाषण व सत्य आचरण का पालन करते थे।

(२) रामस्नेही जुआ, मांस, मद्य, वैश्या, चोरी, तम्बाकू, परस्त्रीगमन इत्यादि सात बुरे व्यसनों का परित्याग करते हैं।¹⁶

(३) जल को छान कर पीते हैं।¹⁷

(४) अहिंसा का पालन करते हैं।¹⁸

(५) तीर्थ स्नान व अपने पूर्वजों की अस्थियों को गंगा में प्रवेश नहीं करते।

(६) श्राद्ध नहीं करते।¹⁹

(७) ज्योतिष, गृहशान्ति, राती-जगा इत्यादि अन्व विश्वासों में आस्था नहीं रखते।²⁰

(८) नमस्कार—इस सम्प्रदाय में गुरु की गद्दी या पुस्तक को साष्टांग प्रणाम करने का विधान है। शिष्य गुरु को राम राम महाराज कहता है उत्तर में गुरु अपने मुख 'से रा०...' कहता है।

(९) बर्णाश्रम—सम्प्रदाय में जाति पाति को दृष्टि से किसी से भेदभाव नहीं किया जाता था। वे मनुष्य को जन्म से नहीं अपितु कर्म से ऊँच या नीच मानते थे। उनके अनुसार चारों वर्णों में बड़ा वही था जो राम नाम का स्मरण करता था। रामदास व दयालदास ने सभी वर्णों के लोगों को अपना शिष्य बनाया परन्तु उनके पश्चात् पूरनदास व अन्य महन्तों ने लोकमत की अवहेलना न कर सकने के कारण शूद्रों को अपना शिष्य नहीं बनाया, फिर भी कथा, सत्संग में उनके प्रवेश पर किसी प्रकार की रोक नहीं लगायी।^{२१}

शास्त्रीय ज्ञान—ये शास्त्रीय ज्ञान को थोथा बतलाते हैं। इनके अनुसार रामनाम के दो असरों को जान लेने के पश्चात् और कुछ जानने की आवश्यकता नहीं रहती। वे राम नाम को 'सूक्ष्म वेद' कहते हैं। वे वेद पुरान इत्यादि शास्त्रों को अध्ययन अनावश्यक व हानिकारक मानते हैं। क्योंकि उनके अध्ययन से मिथ्याभिमान व पाखंड उत्पन्न होते हैं जो भक्ति व ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति में बाधक हैं।^{२२}

दर्शन—रामस्नेही किसी मत-मतान्तर के चक्कर में नहीं पड़े। उन्होंने स्वयं किसी विशिष्ट दर्शन का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया और न किसी दर्शन को पूर्णतया स्वीकार ही किया। लोक धर्म में जो अंश उन्हें अच्छा लगा उसी को उन्होंने अपनाया और उसका प्रचार किया। सारग्राही प्रवृत्ति के कारण उनकी वाणी में शंकर का अद्वैत और भायावाद, रामानुज का विशिष्टाद्वैत, नाथ व सिद्धों का योग, वैष्णवों की सगुरोपासना व अहिंसा और सूफियों का प्रेमभाव एक साथ ही मिलते हैं। उन्होंने जो सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किये वे किसी सम्प्रदाय विशेष अथवा मतवाद से सम्बन्धित न होकर स्वयं उनके अनुभव व निरीक्षण पर आधारित थे।

उनके वाणी साहित्य का वैज्ञानिक विवेचन करने पर हम उनका सम्बन्ध रामानन्द की अपेक्षा कवीर के निर्गुण सम्प्रदाय के अधिक निकट ठहराते हैं। इस पर भी हमें यह स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि अपने विचारों व साम्प्रदायिक मान्यताओं आदि के विषय में उन्होंने कवीर से स्वतंत्र मार्ग अपनाया है। भक्ति साधना की जिन पद्धतियों को उन्होंने स्वीकार नहीं किया उनके प्रति उन्होंने कवीर की तरह खण्डनात्मक एवं विध्वंशात्मक प्रवृत्ति नहीं अपनाई। भक्ति-पूजा, तीर्थयात्रा इत्यादि का सम्प्रदाय में निषेध किया गया है और उनकी आलोचना भी की गई है, किन्तु इसके पीछे साधक को भक्ति का श्रेष्ठ मार्ग बतलाकर भटकने से बचाने की भावना रही है।

परब्रह्म व उसका स्वरूप—इस सम्प्रदाय में ब्रह्म का बोध कराने के लिये 'राम' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है। कहीं कहीं राम के स्थान पर 'हरि' व 'गोविन्द' शब्द भी प्रयुक्त हुये हैं। राम को उपास्य माना है^{२३} तथा राम शब्द को मन्त्रवत् ग्रहण करने का उपदेश दिया गया है, किन्तु इनका राम दाशरथी राम नहीं है। वह निर्गुण निराकार है। वह ज्योति स्वरूप पर ब्रह्म है^{२४}। वह सर्वव्यापक है। उसका निवासस्थान कोई मन्दिर

या मस्जिद नहीं, वह तो सब प्राणियों के घट में बसने वाला है। वह अलख निरंजन है, निरविकल्प व निकलक है। वह अजर अमर है वह अनादि है। उसको किसी ने उत्पन्न नहीं किया। जिस समय अँ और 'सोह' नहीं थे; पृथ्वी और आकाश नहीं थे, सूर्य और चन्द्र का भी अस्तित्व नहीं था उस समय प्रलय से पूर्व 'रंकारे रहमाण' था।^{२५}

राम बड़ा समर्थ है, उसने सृष्टि की रचना कर जीवों की उत्पत्ति की। वह पालक एवं रक्षक है। वह पतित पावन है। भक्तों के मनोरथ पूर्ण करने के लिये वह अवतारी है। उसकी प्रसन्नता से रंक, राजा बन जाते हैं और अप्रसन्नता से राजा, रंक बन जाते हैं। सांसारिक कार्य उसी की आज्ञा से संचालित होते हैं। वह परमानन्द देने वाला, मुक्तिदायक है।^{२६}

निर्गुण-सगुण—रामस्नेही केवल निर्गुण निराकार राम (ब्रह्म) के उपासक हैं, किन्तु व्यवहार में उन्होंने निर्गुण व सगुण ब्रह्म दोनों को मान्यता प्रदान की है। रामदास निर्गुण व सगुण ब्रह्म को एक ही बतलाते हैं क्योंकि सब प्राणियों के घट में बसने वाला ब्रह्म एक ही रूप में सर्वत्र व्याप्त है। सिंहथल पीठाधीश्वर भगवद्दास निर्गुण व सगुण का भेद बतलाते हुये लिखते हैं कि जिस प्रकार ताना-बाना मिलकर वस्त्र कहलाता है उसी प्रकार निर्गुण व सगुण की स्थिति है। आद्ध्य तत्व निर्गुण ही है। उसी से सगुण साकार होता है। निर्गुण के बिना सगुण को उत्पत्ति उसी प्रकार नहीं हो सकती, जिस प्रकार माता-पिता के बिना पुत्र की।^{२७} वास्तव में पूर्ण ब्रह्म न केवल निर्गुण है, न केवल सगुण। जहाँ तक ब्रह्म हमारे मन और इन्द्रियों के अनुभव में आ सकता है वहाँ तक हम उसे सगुण कहते हैं, पर वही तक ब्रह्म की इयत्ता नहीं, उसके परे भी उसकी सत्ता है जिसके लिये हम निर्गुण शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं। सगुण का आश्रय लेकर ही हम निर्गुण की स्थिति समझ सकते हैं और उसे प्राप्त भी कर सकते हैं। अतः रामस्नेही निर्गुण ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति के लिए सगुण ब्रह्म की उपासना को साधना क्रम का एक अनिवार्य सोपान मानते हैं।

सगुण ब्रह्म व निर्गुण ब्रह्म की उपासना का महत्त्व बतलाते हुये रामदास कहते हैं कि सगुण ब्रह्म माया का एक रूप है। उसकी उपासना से जीव 'हृद' (संसार) को पार कर 'वेहद' (परब्रह्म) को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता। 'हृद' के प्राणी को यम का भय सदैव बना रहता है, किन्तु वेहद में पहुँचने पर जीव ब्रह्मत्व को प्राप्त कर लेता है। इस अवस्था में वह मोक्ष प्राप्त कर परमानन्द का अनुभव करता है। ब्रह्मत्व माया-रहित निर्गुण निराकार राम की अनन्य भक्ति द्वारा ही प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।^{२८}

जीव और सीव—सम्प्रदाय में जीव और सीव (ब्रह्म) की तुलना पानी व बर्फ से की गई है। जिस प्रकार जमा हुआ पानी बर्फ का रूप धारण कर लेता है और गले जाने पर फिर पानी बन जाता है उसी प्रकार ब्रह्म से जीव व जीव से ब्रह्म की उत्पत्ति होती है। माया से अपवृत अत्मा जीव कहलाती है और माया से रहित जीव, ब्रह्म कहलाता है। यही स्थिति निर्गुण-सगुण की है निर्गुण से सगुण ब्रह्म की उत्पत्ति होती है और सगुण से निर्गुण की।^{३०}

माया—सम्प्रदाय में माया की बड़ी भर्त्सना की गई है। माया को ईश्वर द्वारा उत्पादित इन्द्रजाल माना है जिसने सारे विश्व पर मोह का आवरण डाल रखा है।

ईश्वर ने सृष्टि की रचना की, किन्तु जीव ने माया के कारण उसे ही सत्य मान लिया और उसके रचयिता को भूल बैठा। माया असत्य को सत्य रूप में प्रकट कर रही है। वह एक डाकिन की भाँति सारे संसार को खाये जा रही है। माया विप की बेल है जो तीनों लोकों में फैली हुई है उसका फल चखने के समस्त विश्व व्याकुल हो रहा है। माया के प्रसाधन कनक और कामिनी है। इनके कारण जीव भ्रमित होकर संसार के भूटे भौतिक ऐश्वर्यों को वास्तविक मान बैठा है। देवल, देहरा, तीर्थ, व्रत, सगुण ब्रह्म इत्यादि माया के रूप हैं। स्वर्ग, नरक, तथा वैकुण्ठ भी माया है। उनका सुख नित्य नहीं। माया नरक में ले जाने वाली है। उसका उपासक ब्रह्म को नहीं पा सकता।³⁵

गुरु—माया के वशीभूत जीव को ब्रह्म की पहिचान गुरु की कृपा से ही हो सकती है। निगुरे की गति सम्भवं नहीं। गुरु ब्रह्म का स्वरूप है। वह तत्वज्ञान देने वाला है। उसके द्वारा बताये ज्ञान से ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति होती है। इसलिये गुरु ब्रह्म से भी बढ़कर है। वह मार्ग दर्शक है। वही भवसागर से पार लगाकर, जन्म-जन्मान्तर के बन्धनों से मुक्त करा सकता है। ऐसा सद्गुरु ही कर सकता है कपटी या पाखंडी गुरु नहीं। इसलिए रामदास कहते हैं कि गुरु सोच समझ कर करना चाहिये। यदि अन्य शिष्य को अन्धा गुरु मिल गया तो उनका लक्ष्य पर पहुँचना कठिन हो जायेगा। गुरु की निन्दा नहीं करनी चाहिये और न गुरु की निन्दा करने वालों का साथ ही करना चाहिये। सद्गुरु में किसी प्रकार का दोष नहीं होता। उसके क्रोधित हो जाने पर शिष्य को बुरा नहीं मानना चाहिये।³²

भक्ति—राम स्नेही सन्तों ने कबीर की प्रेम भक्ति को अपनाया है और उसे ही मुक्ति का एक मात्र साधन माना है। भक्ति साधन के क्षेत्र में उन्होंने किन्हीं पूजा विधानों जैसे मूर्तिपूजा, कर्म-काण्ड इत्यादि को स्वीकार कर केवल राम नाम के स्मरण का उपदेश दिया है।

नाम स्मरण—राम नाम के स्मरण के लिये सम्प्रदाय में एक विशिष्ट योग पद्धति को अपनाया गया है जिसमें राजयोग मन्त्रयोग, लय योग व हठयोग का समावेश है। नाम स्मरण की चार कोटियाँ मानी गई हैं जिन्हें अथ, मध, उत्तम और अति उत्तम कहा गया है। रसना के द्वारा नाम स्मरण 'अथ स्मरण', कण्ठ के द्वारा मध्य स्मरण, हृदय के द्वारा उत्तम स्मरण, और नाभि के द्वारा स्मरण 'अति उत्तम' कहलाता है। नाभि में शब्द के पहुँचने पर राम शब्द के 'म' कार का जो माया का रूप है, उच्चारण बन्द हो जाता है, और माया रहित केवल 'र' कार शब्द का (राँ राँ राँ राँ) स्मरण होने लग जाता है। नाभि में शब्द के स्थित होने पर 'अजपा जाप' या 'सहज सुमिरन' प्रारम्भ हो जाता है जिससे शरीर की समस्त रोमावलियों से रकार का स्मरण स्वतः ही होने लग जाता है। नाभि से शब्द, योग क्रियाओं द्वारा 'बंकनाल' में होकर मेरुदण्ड की मणियों का भेदन करता हुआ त्रिकुटी में पहुँचता है। यहाँ इडा, पिंगला व सुपमना नाड़ियों का संगम होता है। तीन प्रमुख नाड़ियों के संगम के कारण इसे त्रिवेणी कहते हैं। त्रिकुटी में शब्द के पहुँचने पर साधक को 'अनहद नाद' की ध्वनि सुनाई देती है। सुपमना नाड़ी का द्वार खुल जाता है और उससे अमृत की वर्षा होने लगती है। साधक अन्तः साधना द्वारा इस 'त्रिवेणी' में नहाने का आनन्द लेते हैं। त्रिकुटी में 'मुरती' एवं 'निरति' का मिलन होता है।

त्रिकुटी तक माया की पहुँच है, किन्तु उसके आगे शून्य स्थान है, वहाँ पर माया का वश नहीं चलता। वहाँ पर श्वास उच्छ्वास, मन-पवन, धरती और आकाश, सोहं और ॐ किसी की भी पहुँच नहीं है। वहाँ पर निरंजन निराकार ब्रह्म 'शून्य सेज' पर विराजमान है। जीव और जीव यहीं मिलकर एकीकृत हो जाते हैं। इस अवस्था को प्राप्त करने वाला साधक जीवनमुक्त हो जाता है। इसे 'सहज समाधि' कहा गया है।³³

मुक्ति—राम स्नेही सन्तों का अन्तिम लक्ष्य मोक्ष प्राप्त करना है। ब्रह्म सर्वव्यापी है। वह सभी प्राणियों के घट में बसता है, परन्तु अज्ञान के कारण उसे पहिचाना नहीं जा सकता। उसे पहिचानने के लिये अन्तः साधना व आत्मबोध की आवश्यकता है। ब्रह्मज्ञान हो जाने पर जीव आवागमन के चक्र में नहीं पड़ता। जन्म जन्मान्तर के बन्धनों से छुटकारा पा लेना ही मुक्ति या मोक्ष है। परन्तु रामस्नेहियों का ध्येय मरने के बाद मिलने वाली मुक्ति से नहीं। ब्रह्मका बोध होजाने पर जीव इस जन्म में ही 'जीवनमुक्त' हो जाता है। जीवनमुक्त अवस्था में ब्रह्म गुरु व सन्त में कोई भेद नहीं रहता। वह स्वयं देवता और स्वयं उपासक बन जाता है। इस एकत्व की अनुभूति ही मुक्ति है।³⁴

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मुगल दरबार में महाराजा जसवंत सिंह प्रथम

घनश्याम लाल माथुर

जसवंतसिंह राजा गजसिंह जोधपुर नरेश के पुत्र थे। इनका जन्म वि० सं १६८३ माघ बादे ४ ई० सं० २६ दिसम्बर १६२६ में बुरहानपुर में हुआ।^१

गजसिंह के तीन पुत्र हुए अमरसिंह, जसवंतसिंह और अचलसिंह। अचलसिंह का देहान्त तो उसकी बाल्यावस्था में ही हो गया था। अमरसिंह गजसिंह का ज्येष्ठ पुत्र था परंतु वह हठी एवं उद्वेगित था अतः गजसिंह उसके विरुद्ध रहते थे।^२

जोधपुर राज्य की ख्यात के अनुसार अनारा नाम की किसी नवाब की स्त्री से गजसिंह का गुप्त प्रेम था। यह खबर जब फैलने लगी तो अनारा के कहने से महाराजा उसे उसके महलों से निकाल जोधपुर ले गये। एक दिन जब महाराजा अनारा के महलों में थे तो कुंवर, जसवंतसिंह उसके पास गया उसे देखते ही महाराजा और अनारा जैसे ही खड़े हुए कि जसवंतसिंह ने उनके जूते उठा कर उनके आगे रख दिये। अनारा ने कहा कि "यह क्या करते हो ? मैं तो महाराजा की दासी हूँ।" तो कुंवर जसवंतसिंह ने कहा कि आप तो मेरी माता के समान हैं। इससे अनारा बड़ी प्रसन्न हुई और उसने महाराजा से वचन ले लिया कि जसवंतसिंह को उत्तराधिकारी बनाया जाय। अमरसिंह के स्वेच्छाचारी स्वभाव के कारण अनारा उससे सदैव अप्रसन्न रहा करती थी। महाराजा के मरने पर सरदारों ने अनारा को धोखे से मार डाला।

जोधपुर राज्य की ख्यात से ज्ञात होता है कि जब आगरे में गजसिंह बीमार हुआ तो उसकी तबियत का हाल पूछने के लिए शाहजहां उसके डेरे पर गया। उस समय बादशाह ने गजसिंह से पूछा कि इस समय तुम्हारे मन में हो सो कहो। महाराजा ने कहा कि मेरी मृत्यु के बाद जसवंतसिंह को राज्य देने का वचन प्रदान करो। बादशाह ने उसी समय इस बात को स्वीकार कर लिया। इसके पश्चात् गजसिंह ने अपने समस्त उमरावों और मुत्सद्दियों को बुलाकर जसवंतसिंह की चाकरी करने और उसे युवराज मानने की शपथ दिलाई।

जसवंतसिंह का राजतिलक:—वारह वर्ष की अवस्था में जसवंतसिंह का सम्बत् १६९५ के आषाढ़ वदि ७: ई. १६३८ ता० २५ मई: को राजतिलक हुआ। शाहजहां की इन पर

पूर्ण कृपा थी। बादशाह ने उसे अपने हाथ से टीका देकर खिलअत, जड़ाऊ उपहार, चार हजार जात और चार हजार सवार का मनसब, राजा का खिताब; भंडा, नक्कारा सुनहरी जीन का घोड़ा, और खासा हाथी प्रदान किया। जसवन्तसिंह ने भी इस अवसर पर एक हजार मोहरें, बारह हाथी और कुछ जड़ाऊ चीजें बादशाह को भेंट कीं। इसके अतिरिक्त जसवन्तसिंह को टीके में जोधपुर, सोजत, फलीदी, मेड़ता और सीवाणा के प्रदेश मिले।³

इत्तयापुर मे:—जसवन्तसिंह का राजतिलक होने के बाद जब शाहजहां लाहौर की ओर रवाना हुआ तो जसवन्तसिंह भी उसके साथ था। परन्तु रास्ते में दिल्ली वह कुछ दिनों के लिए ठहर गया और जब बादशाह वाकरवाड़े पालम परगने में पहुँचा तो जाकर उसके साथ हो गया।⁴ इत्तयारपुर पहुँचने पर बादशाह ने आश्विन सुदि ६ वि. सं. १६६५ को इन्हें खासाखिलअत और सुनहरी जीन का घोड़ा देकर इनका मान बढ़ाया।⁵

सरदी के मौसम में:—इसके बाद में सरदी का मौसम आजाने के कारण बादशाह ने महाराजा को पहिने के लिए १२ दिसम्बर ई० सं० १६३८ को एक पोस्तीन, जिसके ऊपर जरी और नीचे संभूर के बाल लगे हुए थे भेजा।⁶

बादशाह की वर्षगांठ के अवसर पर:—माघ वदि ४ ई. स. १६३६ ता. १३ जनवरी को बादशाह की वर्षगांठ बड़े धूम-धाम से मनाई गई। इस अवसर पर जसवन्तसिंह के मनसब में १ हजार जात और १ हजार सवार की वृद्धि की गई।⁷ जोधपुर राज्य की ख्यात से ज्ञात होता है कि मनसब में वृद्धि के साथ ही इस अवसर पर उसे जेतारणा का परगना भी मिला।⁸

खासा हाथी मिलना:— वि. सं० १६६६ की चैत्रसुदि ११ को बादशाह ने जसवन्तसिंह को एक खासा हाथी देकर इनका सत्कार किया।⁹

खिलअत और सुनहरी जीन का घोड़ा:—वि. सं. १६६६ चैत्रसुदि ३: मार्च २७ १६३६ ई. सं. को बादशाह का मुकाम रावल पिंडी में हुआ।¹⁰ जसवन्तसिंह को साथ ले वहां से नौशहरा होता हुआ बादशाह पेशावर पहुँचा, जहां आसफ खां और जसवन्तसिंह को छोड़कर स्वयं जमरूद की ओर रवाना हो गया।¹¹ क्यों कि सारे लश्कर का एक साथ खैवर के तंग दर्रे से गुजरना कठिन था। उसके अली मस्जिद पहुँचने पर वैसाख सुदि ५ ता. २८ अप्रैल १६३६ को जसवन्तसिंह भी उसमें पास पहुँच गया।¹² फिर चिनाव नदी के किनारे से फाल्गुन सुदि ११ ता. २३ फरवरी ई० सं० १६४० को जसवन्तसिंह को खिलअत और घोड़ा देकर बादशाह ने देश जाने की आज्ञा दी।¹³

जसवन्तसिंह के मनसब में पुनः वृद्धि:—जसवन्तसिंह का मनसब ५ हजार जात और ५ हजार सवार का तो पहले ही हो चुका था अब वैसाख सुदि १३ ता० १३ अप्रैल ई. स. १६४१ को उसके मनसब के सवारों में एक हजार सवार दुअस्था और सेअस्था कर दिये गए।¹⁴

अरबी घोड़ा मिलना:—उसी वर्ष कार्तिक वदि ४ ता १३ अक्टुबर को अरब से ७१ घोड़े एक लाख रुपयों में खरीद कर आये। उनमें से एक घोड़ा बादशाह ने जसवन्तसिंह को दिया।¹⁵

उपहार मिलना:—वि. सं. १६६६ ई. स. १६४२ में ईरान के बादशाह सफी ने, कंधार पर चढ़ाई करने का विचार किया और अपने सैनिकों को नैसापुर पहुँचने की आज्ञा दी। इस समाचार के ज्ञात होते ही शाहजहाँ राजा जसवन्तसिंह आदि को मय शाही सेना के शाहजदे दाराशिरोए के साथ कंधार की रक्षा के लिए रवाना किया।^{१६} इस अवसर पर उसने इन्हे प्रसन्न रखने के लिए खासा खिलअत, जड़ाऊ जमघर, फूलकटार, सुनहरी साज वाला खासा घोड़ा और खासा हाथी उपहार में दिया।^{१७}

देश लौटते समय:—गजनी से वापिस लौट आने पर वि. सं. १७०० आषाढ़ सुदि १३, १६ जून १६४३ ई. स. को जसवन्तसिंह छुट्टी लेकर जोधपुर के लिए रवाना हुआ।^{१८} इस विदा के अवसर पर बादशाह ने उले खिलअत प्रदान की।^{१९}

जसवन्तसिंह का अजमेर में बादशाह के पास जाना:—वि सं. १७०० मार्ग शीर्ष ६ ई. सं. १६४३ ता १० नवम्बर को शाहजहाँ ने अजमेर पहुँच कर स्वाजा शरीफ की जियारत की। उसी दिन जसवन्तसिंह जोधपुर से रवाना होकर उसकी सेवा में उपस्थित हो गया था।^{२०} पीस वदि १ ता: १६ नवम्बर को अजमेर से आगरा की ओर रवाना होते समय बादशाह ने उसे पुनः देश जाने की आज्ञा दी।^{२१} विदाई के समय बादशाह ने इन्हे खिलअत प्रदान कर इनका सम्मान बढ़ाया।^{२२}

जसवन्तसिंह को आगरे की सुवेदारी मिलना:—वि. सं. १७०१ माघ वदि १२ ई. सं. १६४५ ता: १४ जनवरी को बादशाह ने आगरा से लाहौर की ओर प्रस्थान किया।^{२३} माघ सुदि २ ता. १६ जनवरी को रूपवास में रहते हुए उसने जसवन्तसिंह को, जो फिर उसके पास पहुँच गया था, खासा खिलअत प्रदान कर नये सुवेदार शेख फरीद के आने तक आगरे के प्रबन्ध के लिए नियुक्त किया।^{२४}

बादशाह का वर्ष गाँठ के अवसर पर:—कुछ दिनों तक लाहौर में रहने के उपरान्त वि. सं. १७०२ चैत्र सुदि ८ ई. सं. १६४५ ता. २५ मार्च को बादशाह ने काश्मीर के लिए प्रस्थान किया।^{२५} वहाँ पहुँच कर आषाढ़ सुदि ६ ता. २२ जून को उसने अपने लाहौर लौटने तक जसवन्तसिंह को भी वहाँ पहुँचने (लाहौर) का आदेश दिया।^{२६} मार्ग शीर्ष वदि १ ता. २५ अक्टूबर को बादशाह के काश्मीर से वापिस लौटने पर महाराजा उसके पास उपस्थित हो गया।^{२७} वि. सं. १७०३ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ६ ई. स. १६४६ ता. १३ मई को पेशावर में बादशाह की वर्ष गाँठ के अवसर पर जसवन्तसिंह के मनसब के एक हजार सवार और दो अस्पा तथा से अस्पा दिये गये।^{२८} इसके बाद बादशाह की आज्ञानुसार महाराजा आम्बेर के कुंवर रामसिंह के साथ एक मंजिल आगे चलने लगे।^{२९} इस प्रकार आषाढ़ वदि १० ता. २६ मई को बादशाह काबुल पहुँचा जहाँ पहले पहुँचे हुए जसवन्तसिंह तथा अन्य ने बादशाह का स्वागत किया।^{३०} हि. सं. १०५६ ता. ४ जितहिजज: वि. सं. १७०३ पौषसुदि ५ ई. स. १६४७ ता. १ जनवरी को उसके मनसब में से ५०० सवार और दो अस्पा से अस्पा किए गये।^{३१} इसके बाद दो बार और वृद्धि होकर महाराजा के मनसब में ५ हजार सवार दो अस्पा से अस्पा हो गये।^{३२}

मनसब में वृद्धि:—शाहजहाँ के २६ वे राज्य वर्ष वि. सं. १७०६ ई. स. १६५२ में जसवन्तसिंह का मनसब बढ़ाकर ६ हजार जात व ५ हजार सवार कर दिया गया।^{३३}

“महाराजा” का खिताब मिलना:—वि. सं. १७१२ ई. स. १६५५ में इनका मनसब ६ हजार जात और ६ हजार सवार (इनमें पांच हजार सवार दुअस्पा से अस्पा थे) का हो गया और साथ ही इन्हें महाराजा का खिताब भी प्रदान किया गया।^{३४}

मनसब में वृद्धि और मालवा की सूबेदारी मिलना:—वि. सं. १७१४ ई. स. १६५८ में बादशाह शाहजहाँ बीमार हो गया और साथ ही लोगों में उसके मरने की खबर अफवाह के रूप में फैल गई। इस पर उसका बड़ा शाहजादा दारा शिकोह उसे दिल्ली से यमुना के माग द्वारा आगरा ले आया। यह अफवाह सुनते ही शाहजहाँ के द्वितीय शाहजादे शुजा ने अपने को बंगाल सूबे में बादशाह घोषित कर दिया और इसके बाद वह सेना लेकर आगरा की ओर रवाना हुआ। तीसरा पुत्र औरंगजेब राज्य पर अधिकार करने की इच्छा से दल बल सहित दक्षिण से रवाना होकर आगे बढ़ने लगा और चौथा पुत्र मुराद गुजरात के अहमदाबाद में तख्त पर बैठ गया। यह देखकर दारा शिकोह ने बादशाह से कहकर १५ फरवरी को महाराज का मनसब ७ हजार जात और ७ हजार सवार जिसमें ५ हजार सवार दुअस्पा से अस्पा थे का करवा दिया और इसी के साथ इन्हे १०० घोड़े जिसमें एक सुनहरी जीन का महाराजा की सवारी के लिए था, चाँदी की अम्बारी वाला एक हाथी एक हथिन, एक लाख रुपये नकद तथा मालवे की सुबेदारी दिलवाई।^{३५}

जसवन्तसिंह का औरंगजेब की सेवा में जाना:—हि. स. १०६८ ता. १ जिल्काद: वि. सं. १७१५ श्रावण सुदि २ ई. स. १६५८ ता. २२ जुलाई को औरंगजेब ने तख्त नशीनी उत्सव मनाया।^{३६} उसी वर्ष महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह औरंगजेब की सेवा में उपस्थित हुआ।^{३७} मुखबुल्लुबाव में लिखा है कि पहले उसने एक पत्र अपने वकीलों द्वारा भिजवाकर बादशाह से क्षमा चाही जिसके मंजूर होने पर वह दरबार में गया। जहाँ उसका मनसब बहाल कर उसे बहुत सी वस्तुएं भेंट दी गई।^{३८} उमराए हनुद से पाया जाता है कि महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह मिर्जा राजा जयसिंह की मारफत औरंगजेब की सेवा में उपस्थित हुआ। वीर विनोद से ज्ञात होता है कि दारा का पीछा करना छोड़ने पर लाहौर से लौटने पर औरंगजेब ने जोधपुर के महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह को आभूषणों आदि तथा दो लाख पच्चास हजार की जागीर स्वीकृत करने की कही। परन्तु जोधपुर राज्य की ख्यात से ज्ञात होता है कि आगरे पहुँच कर औरंगजेब ने महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह को अपने सैनिकों सहित आने के लिए फरमान भेजा, जिसके साथ उसने सांभर के खजाने से उसको (जसवन्तसिंह) पाँच लाख रुपये दिलाये। इसके अतिरिक्त उसने पाँच हजार की हुंडियाँ भी उसके पास भेजी। तब अपने आदमियों को एकत्रित कर श्रावणदि वि. सं. १७१४ (चैत्रादि १७१५ वि. सं.) ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ ई. स. १६५८ ता. १४ मई को उसने जोधपुर से प्रस्थान किया। ज्येष्ठ सुदि ११ ता. १ जून को वह पुष्कर पहुँचा, जहाँ से चलकर तीसरे दिन वह अजमेर पहुँचा। वहाँ पर ४० दिनों तक ठहरा और वहाँ रहते समय उसने जोधपुर का राज कार्य मुहणोत नैणसी को सुपुर्द किया। फिर वहाँ से प्रस्थान कर वह गाँव रीपड़ पहुँचा, जहाँ बादशाह औरंगजेब के हृदय की बात जानने के बाद भाद्रपद वदि १३ ता. १६ अगस्त को वह औरंगजेब की सेवा में उपस्थित हुआ। बादशाह ने उसे जहानाबाद का सूबा दिया जहाँ वह आश्विन सुदि १ ता. १८ सितम्बर को पहुँचा।^{३९}

जसवन्तसिंह को गुजरात की सूबेदारी मिलना:—दारा के साथ लड़ाई के बाद बादशाह ने गुजरात का सूबा महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह के नाम कर दिया जहाँ शीघ्रता के

साथ पहुँचने के लिए उसके १६ मार्च १६६६ को शाही फरमान पहुँचा।^{४०} इस समय जसवंतसिंह को "महाराजा" का खिताब वापिस मिल चुका था जो कि उसके पहले के अपराधों के कारण छीन लिया गया था।^{४१} जोधपुर से रवाना होकर जसवंतसिंह १५ अप्रैल को अहमदाबाद पहुँचा।^{४२}

जसवंतसिंह का गुजरात से हटाया जाना:—ई. स. १६६२-६३ में बादशाह ने गुजरात से महाराजा जसवंतसिंह को हटा कर वहाँ पर महावत खाँ की नियुक्ति की।^{४३} जोधपुर राज्य की ख्यात में काकरिया तालाब के निकट डेरे होने पर वि. सं. १७१८ मार्गशीर्ष वदि ८ (ई. स. १६६१ ता. ४ नवम्बर) को बादशाह का फरमान लिखा है जिसके अनुसार गुजरात का सूबा उससे हटा कर महावत खाँ को दे दिया गया और महाराजा को उसके एवज में हाँसी व हिसार के परगने मिले।^{४४} उसे हाँसी व हिसार के परगने मिलने का जिक्र फारसी तवारीख में नहीं मिलता।

जसवंतसिंह की दक्षिण में नियुक्ति—दक्षिण में मरहठों के उत्पात दिनों दिन बढ़ रहे थे। अतः उन्हें दवाने के लिए जसवंतसिंह की नियुक्ति ई० स० १६६३ में दक्षिण में करदी।

जसवंतसिंह का दक्षिण से हटाया जाना—वि० स० १७२१ (ई० सन् १६६५) में बादशाह ने महाराजा जसवंतसिंह को दक्षिण से हटाकर दरबार में उपस्थित होने का आदेश दिया। उसके स्थान पर नवाब दिलेर खाँ और मिर्जा राजा जयसिंह की नियुक्ति की गई।^{४५} शाहजहाँवाद में बादशाह की सेवा में उपस्थित होने पर जसवंतसिंह को सिरोपाव आदि बहुत सी चीजे इनाम में दी गई।^{४६}

दशहरे के उत्सव पर खिलअत मिलना—८ अक्टुबर को दशहरे के अवसर पर महाराजा को बादशाह की ओर से खिलअत मिली।^{४७}

सुनहरी घोड़े मिलना—२५ अक्टुबर को बादशाह की तरफ से महाराजा जसवंत सिंह को खिलअत के साथ सुनहरी साज के दो घोड़े दिये गये।^{४८}

जसवंतसिंह को ईरान की ओर भेजने पर उपहार—ईरान का बादशाह अब्बास सानी खुरासान की ओर से हिन्दुस्तान पर चढ़ाई करने का विचार कर रहा था।^{४९} इस पर बादशाह ने आसोज वदि १ सितम्बर ४ को शाहजादे मुअज्जम के साथ जसवंतसिंह को भी भेजा।^{५०} इस अवसर पर उसने महाराजा को खासा खिलअत, तलवार, जड़ाऊ जमधर, मोतियों की लड़ी, अपने स्वयं के तवेले में से सोने के साज वाले दो घोड़े, चाँदी की अम्बारी और जरी की भूल वाला एक हाथी दिया।^{५१}

सरदी की खिलअत—माघ वदि ११ (ई० स० १६६७ की १० जनवरी) को बादशाह ने महाराजा के लिए लाहौर सरदी की खिलअत भेजी।^{५२}

खासा खिलअत मिलना—लाहौर से लौट आने और बादशाह की सेवा में उपस्थित होने पर बादशाह ने वि० सं० १७२३ की चैत्रसुदि ८ (ई० स० १६६७) २३ मार्च को खासा खिलअत देकर इनकी अभ्यर्थना की।^{५३}

दक्षिण में नियुक्ति पर—वि० सं० १७२४ चैत्र सुदि ९ (ई० सं० १६६७ तारीख २४ मार्च) को बादशाह ने शाहजादे मुअज्जम को दक्षिण की सुबेदारी पर रवाना किया और महाराजा को खिलअत, जड़ाऊ कमरबन्द वाली तलवार और दो घोड़े, जिनमें एक सुनहरी साज का था, उपहार में देकर उसके साथ कर दिया।^{५४}

विराद और राधणपुर के परगने मिलना—ई० सं० १६६७ में बादशाह ने महाराजा को गुजरात के विराद और राधणपुर परगने दिये।^{५५}

जसवन्तसिंह को दक्षिण से वापिस बुलाना—ई० सं० १६६९ की मई में श्रीरंगजेव को सूचना मिली कि शाह मुअज्जम महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह की सहायता से स्वाधीन होने का विचार कर रहा है। इस पर उसने तत्काल ही उसकी माता को संभालने के लिए भेज दिया। इसके अगले वर्ष महाराजा को दक्षिण से वापिस बुला लिया गया।

जसवन्तसिंह को दूसरी बार गुजरात की सुबेदारी मिलना—वि० सं० १७२७ (ई० सं० १६७०) में महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह बादशाह की आज्ञा से दूसरी बार गुजरात का सुबेदार नियुक्त किया गया।^{५६} इस अवसर पर उसे पट्टण, वीरमंगांव, पेटलाद आदि के २८ परगने हिसार के बदले मिले।^{५७}

काबुल जाने का फरमान—इसके कुछ समय बाद बादशाह ने अहमदाबाद में मुहम्मद अमीर खां की नियुक्ति की। तब बादशाह की आज्ञानुसार आठ मास तक महाराजा मही कांठे में रहा। वि० सं० १७३० के आश्विन (ई० सं० १६७३ सितम्बर-अक्टूबर) में बादशाह का इस आशय का फरमान महाराजा के पास पहुँचा कि वह शीघ्र ही काबुल की ओर प्रस्थान कर जमरूद के थाने की रक्षा करे।^{५८}

उक्त आज्ञा के अनुसार महाराजा ने गुजरात, मारवाड़ होते हुये काबुल की ओर प्रस्थान किया। मार्ग में जोधपुर न ठहर कर वहाँ से ४ कोस दूर गुंडे में ठहरें, फिर वहाँ से प्रस्थान कर महाराजा पेशावर पहुँचे।^{५९} परन्तु मुंशी देवीप्रसाद दो वर्ष पूर्व वि० सं० १७२८ (ई० सं० १६७१) में ही उसका जमरूद के थाने पर नियुक्त करना लिखता है।^{६०}

खासा खिलअत और उर्वसी मिलना—ई० सं० १६७४ में बादशाह रावल पीडी गया इस अवसर पर महाराजा भी उपस्थित हुए। बादशाह ने उन्हें खिलअत और ७ हजार रुपये की उर्वसी (पीशाक) प्रदान की^{६१} और इनके जमरूद थाने पर वापिस लौटने के वक्त जड़ाऊ साज की तलवार और तलायार समेत (अम्बारी सहित) हाथी देकर इनका सम्मान किया।^{६२}

राज्य वर्ष के अवसर पर—बादशाह ने अपने १८ वे राज्या वर्ष दिसम्बर १६७४ के उत्सव पर महाराजा के लिए एक खासा खिलअत भेजी।^{६३}

जसवन्तसिंह का मनसब ४ हजार जात ४ हजार सवार से बढ़ता हुआ ७ हजार जात और ७ हजार सवार तक होगया। अनेकों बार खिलअते और उपहार मिले। आगरा, मालवा और दो बार गुजरात की सुबेदारी की। इससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि मुगल दरबार महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह का कितना आदर और प्रभाव था।

जमरूद पहुँचने के पश्चात् महाराजा ने थानेदार के रूप में अपने अन्तिम साढ़े पाँच वर्ष विद्रोह पूर्ण उजाड़ प्रदेश में बिताए और अपने राज्य तथा प्रजा से सैकड़ों मीठे

दूर अटक के उस पार अफगानों के इस देश में ही पीप वदि १० वि० सं० १७३५ (ई० सं० १६७८ तारीख २८ नवम्बर) के दिन जमरूद में पूरणमल वून्देले के वाग में जसवन्तसिंह ने अपनी सांस ली। ई० ड० रघुवीर सिंह ने महाराजा की मृत्यु की तारीख १० दिसम्बर १६७८ लिखी है। ई० परन्तु अधिकतर विद्वानों ने प्रथम तिथि को ही स्वीकार किया है।

औरंगजेव जसवन्तसिंह को अपनी कट्टर धार्मिक नीति का सबसे बड़ा रोड़ा समझता था। तारीखे मोहम्मद शाही में लिखा है कि जब औरंगजेव ने जसवन्तसिंह की मृत्यु का समाचार सुना तो उसने कहा—“दवाजए कुफ़ शिकस्त” (आज कुफ़ (धर्म विरोध) का दरवाजा टूट गया है।)

लेकिन जब वेगम ने महल में यह समाचार सुना तो मुस्त होकर उसने कहा—“इम रोज जाये दिल गिरिफ्तगीस्त के ई चुनी रुकने दोलत व शिकस्त” (आज शोक का दिन है कि बादशाहत का ऐसा स्तम्भ टूट गया।)

वास्तव में वेगम का सोचना ठीक था। भारमल और कुंवर मानसिंह से प्रारम्भ होकर पूरी एक शताब्दी तक स्वामी भक्त सेवाओं की परम्परा जो चल रही थी उसमें महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह आखरी कड़ी थी। औरंगजेव ने मुगलों की शोभा बढ़ाने वाले इस कंठहार को लोहे की शृंखला समझी।

इसलिए जब जसवन्तसिंह का स्वर्गवास हो गया तो वह बेहद खुश हुआ क्योंकि अब उसकी हरकतों को रोकने वाला कोई और नहीं रहा था। जसवन्तसिंह उस वाढ़ का बांध था। उस बांध के ढहते ही वाढ़ को खुल कर ताण्डव करने का मौका मिल गया।

औरंगजेव ने चारों ओर दुश्मन खड़े कर लिए और इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि जसवन्तसिंह की मृत्यु के साथ ही साथ विद्रोह का युग प्रारम्भ होगया।

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महाराजा अजीतसिंह का पालन-पोषणकर्त्ता - जयदेव

डा० आर० पी० व्यास

मारवाड़ के इतिहास में खीची मुकन्ददास और राठीड़ दुर्गादास के नाम अमर हो गये हैं । उन्होंने बालक महाराजा अजीतसिंह की रक्षा व उसके लालन-पालन हेतु और राठीड़ों के राज्य को मारवाड़ में अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखने में जो सेवाएं समर्पित की हैं उसके लिये इन दोनों व्यक्तियों की जितनी प्रशंसा की जाय वह कम है, परन्तु जिस महापुरुष पुरोहित जयदेव ने महाराजा का लालन-पालन किया और जिन माजी थावरीजी ने महाराजा को स्तनपान कराया उनका इतिहास में यथोचित स्थान प्राप्त न होने से इतिहास की शृंखला अपूर्ण सी प्रतीत होती है । कुछ इतिहासकारों ने तो इनका नामोल्लेख तक नहीं किया है और महाराजा के लालन-पालन के सम्बन्ध में भ्रान्तिपूर्ण विचार व्यक्त किये हैं । परन्तु स्वयं अजीतसिंह के द्वारा लिखे गये खास हक्के व जो जयदेव के वंशज के पास

विद्यमान है इस बात के साक्षी हैं कि महाराजा अजीतसिंह का लालन-पालन पुरोहितजी के घर पर ही हुआ था ।

वंश परिचय

बौधा खांप में देवायतजी नाम के एक प्रख्यात व्यक्ति हुए जिन्होंने वि० सि० ८६८ में भाटी राजवंशावशिष्ट रावल देवराजजी को अपने पास रख शत्रुसेना से उनको बचाकर अमर वंश प्राप्त किया था । जब भाटी देवराजजी को उनका लोया हुआ राज्य पुनः प्राप्त हो गया तो उन्होंने बौधा देवायत जी को अपने पास बुलाकर 'पुरोहित' उपाधि से विभूषित कर अपना कुल गुरु बनाया ।^२ जैसलमेर के किले में देवायतजी के वंशजों के कई घर विद्यमान हैं । जयदेव भी देवायतजी के वंशज थे । जयदेव सम्भवतः भाटी राज्य घराने की आही हुई राजपुत्री के साथ सिरोही चले गये थे और वहीं पर बस गये थे । वह सिरोही घराने के विश्वासपात्र थे । महारावल वैरीशाल प्रथम (वि० सं० १७३३-१७५४) की पुत्री और जोधपुर के महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह प्रथम की रानी देवडीजी के वे कामदार थे ।^३

बालक अजीतसिंह का सिरोही पहुंचना

महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह के देहान्त होने के तुरन्त बाद बादशाह औरंगजेब ने मारवाड़ को खालसा घोषित कर दिया और बालक अजीतसिंह को अपने निगरानी में रखकर उसे मुसलमान बनाने की चेष्टा की किन्तु स्वामीभक्त दुर्गादास, सौनिंग आदि राठौड़ योद्धाओं ने बालक अजीतसिंह की रक्षा की और वे बालक सहित मारवाड़ पहुँच गये ।^४ कुछ दिन तो बालक महाराजा बलूदे में ही रहा परन्तु इसके स्थान के चारों तरफ 'जैतारण', मेड़ता, बीलाड़ा और सोजत आदि में मुसलमानों का अधिकार देख खीची मुकन्ददास और दुर्गादास बालक को सिरोही ले गये और वहाँ स्वर्गवासी महाराजा जसवन्त सिंह की रानी देवडीजी को उसे सुपदं कर, वे मारवाड़ लौट आये । तदोपरान्त उन्होंने मुगल सेना से निरन्तर युद्ध किया और इस प्रकार बादशाह की सेना का ध्यान इस बालक को पकड़ने से विलग किया ।^५

बालक अजीतसिंह को जयदेव के सुपदं करना

देवडीजी अधिक दिनों तक बच्चे को अपने पास नहीं रख सकी । औरंगजेब ने बच्चे को पकड़ने के लिए सर्वत्र आदेश-प्रसारित कर दिये थे । वैरीशाल ने सोचा कि यदि प्रकट रूप में बालक का सिरोही में रहना बादशाह को मालूम हो गया तो सिरोही राज्य पर बड़ी आपत्ति आ पड़ेगी । अतः देवडीजी की सलाह से बालक को पुरोहित जयदेव को दे दिया गया । जयदेव की धर्म पत्नी (थावरीजी) ने अपने स्तनों से महाराजा को दूध पिलाकर उनका पोषण किया । बच्चे को अधिक दिनों तक सिरोही नगर में छिपाकर नहीं रखा जा सकता था इसलिए जयदेव अपने परिवार सहित सिरोही छोड़कर गांव कालन्दी में रहने लगे । प्रायः सात वर्ष तक वह महाराजा का लालन-पालन गुप्त रीति से वहाँ करता रहा । खीची मुकन्ददास भी भेष बदल कर इस क्षेत्र में घूमता रहा । उसने इस बात का ध्यान रखा कि बालक पर कोई बाह्य आपत्ति न आ जाये । देवडीजी ने एक पत्र मुकन्ददास के लिये पुरोहितजी को लिखा जिसका कुछ अंश यों है—'ए श्री दरवार रा ठावा चाकर है, ठेठ सूं लावण में ही एहीजा हा आगा सूं उमराव मुकंसर्दी खवास पासवान वगैरा चाकर आवसी सूं इणां ने पूछने आवण देवणा ने इणां सूं जानै ज्यूं नहीं है ।'^६

अजीतसिंह के लालन-पालन के विषय में ग्रन्थकारों की भूलें

एडम्स महोदय ने मुकन्ददास के स्थान पर गोकुलदास खीची का नाम लिखा है^७ और "मारवाड़ के सपूत" पुस्तक के रचयिता हीरालाल और गोकुलप्रसाद ने जयदेव की अजीत सिंह के प्रति सेवाओं से अनभिज्ञ होने के कारण सम्भवतः देतकथाओं के आधार पर नित्य वृत्तान्त लिखा है।^८ ड्योडी पर मुकन्ददास ने अपना पिटारा खोला और बालक को निकाल कर अन्दर भेजा। दुर्भाग्य से यहां भी शाही हुकम बालक को पकड़ने का पहुँच चुका था, इसलिए रानी (दंबड़ीजी) ने बालक को एक गांव की रहने वाली ब्राह्मणी की गोद में डाल दिया।^९

कुछ इतिहास लेखकों ने महाराजा अजीतसिंह का लाजन-पालन पुरोहित जयदेव द्वारा होना तो स्वीकार किया है परन्तु जयदेव का दूसरा नाम "जग्गूजी" मानकर लिखा है—जयदेव (जग्गूज)। यह इतिहासकारों की भूल है। जयदेव और जग्गूजी एक व्यक्ति नहीं थे, वे पिता पुत्र थे। जयदेव के कनिष्ठ पुत्र का नाम जगन्नाथ था जिसे जग्गूजी भी कहते थे। जब अजीतसिंह का पालन-पोषण पहाड़ों में हो रहा था वहां जयदेव के लड़के 'लालजी' का देहान्त हो गया, तो महाराजा ने उन्हें कहा था कि अब जो पुत्र हो उसका नाम "जगन्नाथ" रखना और उसको मेरी पोशाक पहिनाना। पुत्र हुआ तो उसका नाम जगन्नाथ रखा, उपनाम जग्गू था। जन्म होने पर महाराजा ने कहा "ओ मारो बाहियो हुवो" अर्थात् यह मेरा परम विश्वास मित्र हुआ। इसका प्रमाण एक खास रुक्रे में प्रस्तुत है :^३

बावोजी जे देवजी, हुआ अति ही दिलगीर ।
 पुत्र पीड ऊठी पुरवत, नेण न मावे नीर ॥१॥
 तद दिल उपजी तुरत ही, घर में देख निरधार ।
 परसादी पोशाक रो, बागो दियो विचार ॥२॥
 भले केयो श्री मुख वचन, नर जनमे नखतेत ।
 मो सरखा होसी मरद, हरख के यो कर हेत ॥३॥
 उरणुं ओ पहराव जो, नांव कहयो जगन्नाथ ।
 बावोजी परसण हुआ, सहू राखियो साथ ॥४॥
 जग्गू जनमियो जोखर, नखत बली नरनाह ।
 मन सुध म्होरी वन्दगी, इण विध करे अथाह ॥५॥
 दिल्ली में अरु देश में, पिंड वचायो प्राण ।
 कह उसरावण हुवां कदे, आनन्द घण री आण ॥६॥

लल्लूभाई भीमभाई देसाही ने अपने ग्रन्थ "चौहान कुल कल्पदुम" में लिखा है कि "महाराव वैरीसाल प्रथम वि० सं० (१७३३-१७५४) ने जोधपुर के बाल राजा अजीतसिंह को बादशाह औरंगजेब की खफगी से बचाने को अपनी निगरानी व संरक्षण में सिरोही

रियासत के "डोडुआ" नामक गांव में वहां के सरदार की देखरेख में एक राजगुरु ब्राह्मण के वहां रखवाया और उसकी बाल्यावस्था का काल इस महाराज के संरक्षण में ही व्यतीत हुआ था। लल्लू भाई इस सम्बन्ध में आगे लिखते हैं—“जिस राजगुरु ब्राह्मण की सुपर्दगी में वह रहे थे उस ब्राह्मण को महाराजा अजीतसिंह ने जोधपुर रियासत में 'तंबरी' नामक पट्टा की जागीर वारह गांव से दी, उस जागीर पर उनकी श्रीलाद वाले विद्यमान हैं।” ११

लल्लूभाई का यह कथन है कि अजीतसिंह को “डोडुआ” गांव में रखा गया निराधार नहीं प्रतीत होता। “डोडुआ” गांव सिरोही नगर से लगभग ६ मील की दूरी पर है तथा वह कालन्दी ठिकाने का ही एक गांव था। कालन्दी एक प्रसिद्ध कस्बा था, वहां बालक को अधिक समय तक गुप्त रूप से रखना कठिन था। अतः अजीत को एक छोटे गांव में रखना सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से उचित था। सिरोही क्षेत्र में यह मान्यता है कि “डोडुआ” गांव में खंडहर के रूप में हवेली आज भी विद्यमान है जहां बालक अजीत का लालन-पालन जयदेव द्वारा हुआ था। ११ इसके अतिरिक्त महाराजा अजीतसिंह ने वि० सं० १७५६ ज्येष्ठ सुदि १२ के पत्र में “डोडुआ” के देवड़ा केसरीसिंह व पांडीव के ठाकुर नारायणदास को अपनी सही मोहर व अपने स्वयं के हस्ताक्षर से एक पत्र लिखा है कि “जिण घड़ी थे तेहस्यो तीण घड़ी आवसां सही।” अतः अजीत का “डोडुआ” से सम्बन्ध रहा था १२ और सम्भवतः वह बाल्यकाल में वहीं पर रहा होगा क्योंकि कालन्दी इस क्षेत्र का प्रधान गांव था, अतः इतिहासकारों ने इस स्थान पर अजीत का रहना उल्लिखित किया है।

लल्लूभाई ने राजगुरु ब्राह्मण को तिवरी वाले पुरोहितों से सम्बन्धित कर एतिहासिक भूल की है। जयदेव पुष्करणा जाति के पुरोहित खांप के एक पुरुष थे और तिवरी के राजगुरु ब्राह्मण भी पुरोहित कहलाते हैं। ये दोनों ही पुरोहित हैं किन्तु इनका एक दूसरे के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। सम्भवतः तिवरी वाले राजगुरु पुरोहित की बड़ी जागीर को महत्त्व सेवा का यथोचित पुरस्कार समझकर लल्लूभाई ने यह गलती की है। वस्तुतः तिवरी वाला राजगुरु पुरोहित राठोड़ों के साथ कन्नोज से आये थे और १२ गांवों सहित तिवरी की जागीर अजीतसिंह के कई पीढ़ियों पहिले इनको मिल चुकी थी। ये कुल गुरु ब्राह्मण थे परन्तु जब राठोड़ मारवाड़ में आये तो उन्होंने देखा कि पुष्करणा ब्राह्मण इस क्षेत्र में राजाओं के गुरु हैं तो राठोड़ों ने उन राजगुरु ब्राह्मण को तो अपना पुरोहित रखा और इस देश की प्रचलित रीति के अनुसार पुष्करणाओं को अपना गुरु बनाकर उनको 'राज्य व्यास' कहा। तब से मारवाड़ राज्य में मृतक कार्यों में मुख्य काम “पुरोहितजी” का और मांगलिक कार्यों में प्रमुख काम “व्यासजी” का परम्परागत चलता आ रहा है। तिवरी राजस्थान बनने तक इन्हीं राजगुरु ब्राह्मणों की जागीर थी जो उनको पुरोहित्य में मिली न कि किसी विशेष सेवा के पुरस्कार में। १३ पुरोहित जयदेव और उनके वंशज “श्रीपुरोहितजी” कहलाते हैं। “श्री” और “जी” की उपाधि महाराजा अजीतसिंह ने दी थी (जिकारो कर जाव)। १४ “श्री” की उपाधि कब दी इसका पता नहीं चलता। सम्भवतः अनुपम सेवा के कारण उन्हें “श्री पुरोहितजी” कहा गया होगा। इनका राठोड़ राजवंश में धनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध होने के कारण इनको “राठोड़” भी कहते हैं।

अजीतसिंह के लालन-पालन के विषय के खास रक्के

स्वयं अजीतसिंह ने अपने बाल्यकाल सम्बन्धित कुछ खास रक्के लिखे हैं। अजीतसिंह अच्छे कवि भी थे। उन्होने खास रक्कों में दोहे भी लिखे हैं। ये खास रक्के पुरोहित जयदेव के वंशज के पास हैं। इनकी प्रतिलिपि मेरे अधिकार में हैं। एक रक्के में महाराजा लिखते हैं ५५ “...आगे तो म्हे बावोजी जैदेवजी रे घर मोटा हुआ नै बावोजी म्हानू पाल नै मोटा किया सो तो एकरा दिन री किसड़ी किसड़ी बंदगी नै इगां रा मायत परां री पोखे री किसड़ी तारीफ लिखां। म्हारा लारली जनम रा अ मोईत था। सो इग सू नै इगांरी बंदगी सू कदै उस रावण हुइजै। ...” इसी रक्के के अन्त में १२ दौहे लिखे हैं जिनमें तीसरा दोहा इस प्रकार है:—

माता म्हारी थावरी, पिता प्रोहित परमाणे ।

जन्म लियो जसराज घर, जोध तिलक जोधारां ॥

अन्तिम दोहे में रक्के की तिथि भी दी है (श्रावण सुदि ७ वि० सं० १७७०)। ६६

एक दूसरे रक्के में अजीतसिंह जगू को लिखा है कि “...कोई दरवार से असबाव ही घर में राखे तो उगरी पीढी दर पीढी मोटी बंदगी सावित होवै सू थारा तो घर में म्हानुंहीज राखिया सो वात छिपाई कद छिपे म्हारी वंश रो ही कोई हुंसी सो ही मानसी ...। १७”

इन उपरोक्त उदाहरणों से यह स्पष्ट है कि अजीतसिंह का लालन-पालन जयदेव पुरोहित के पास हुआ था। जयदेव का पुत्र जगन्नाथ जिन्हें जगूजी भी कहते थे महाराजा का विश्वस्त मित्र और स्वाभी भक्त सेवक था।

अजीतसिंह का प्रकट होना

सात वर्ष तक बालक महाराजा जयदेव के घर पर रहे। आठवें वर्ष में उन्हें शीतला निकली जब पूजने के लिए महाराजा बाहिर निकले। इसके बाद वह प्रकट होने लगे। वि० सं० १७४४ के वैशाख कृष्ण ५ को सरदारों के अनुग्रह से महाराजा प्रकट किये गये। १८ पालड़ी गांव में दरवार हुआ। इसके बाद अजीत, जयदेव आदि मारवाड़ में छप्पन के पहाड़ों में आकर रहने लगे। वही वि० सं० १७४४ से १७५४ के बीच में जयदेव की मृत्यु हुई। अजीतसिंह जयदेव को “बावाजी” कहकर सम्बोधित करते थे। अजीतसिंह ने एक खास रक्के में जयदेव की सेवा के लिए लिखा है—“इग हिन्दुस्थान में लगात पातशाह जी उदैयुर आम्वेर किणी ठिकाणे किणी चाकर री आजताई इसड़ी बन्दगी इगतरे री ना तो हुई ना होवे तिरा रो बदलो करुं कीयां दिराजे...।” १९

जसवंत सुत अजमाल रे, शिर अवसाण सही ।

असल हुवा इग वंश में, तिरानु इती कही ॥ २०

माजी थावरीजी का देहान्त

जयदेव के तीन पुत्र थे। सबसे बड़े रणछोड़ जी और सबसे छोटे जगन्नाथ थे। तीसरे पुत्र “लालजी” का देहान्त बाल्यकाल में ही हो गया था। ज्येष्ठ कृष्ण १३, १७५५

को जालोर अजीतसिंह के हाथ आ गया। अब उन्हें राज्य करने को कोई स्थान मिला। नियमित शासन प्रणाली शुरु हुई। रणछोड़जी को महाराजा ने अपना दीवान नियुक्त किया। जगन्नाथ को वह अपने सहोदर भाई की तरह प्यार करता था। जालोर में लगभग ८ वर्ष तक रहे। इसी समय में माजी थावरीजी की मृत्यु हुई।^{२५}

रणछोड़ और जग्गू को सम्मान प्रदान करना

औरंगजेब की मृत्यु उपरान्त अजीतसिंह ने जोधपुर पर अधिकार कर लिया और अपने पैतृक राज्य पर आधिपत्य स्थापित किया। अजीतसिंह इतना अकृतज्ञ हृदय नहीं था जैसा कुछ लोग समझने लगे हैं। महाराजा ने रणछोड़ और जग्गू को धन, द्रव्य, पदवी, सवारी आदि से सम्मानित किया। उन्हें राजा की पदवी, वांह पसाव, राजदरवार में राजकुमारों की बैठक, हाथी सिरोपाव आदि अनेक प्रकार से सम्मान प्रदान कर जयदेव के परिवार की सेवा के प्रति कृतज्ञता का परिचय दिया।^{२६}

संदर्भ

१. खास रक्का की संख्या ६ है। इनमें से एक रक्का परम्परा भाग २४ में प्रकाशित हो चुका है। कुछ ऐतिहासिक रक्के और परवाने — (डा० दशरथ शर्मा) इन सभी रक्कों की प्रतियां मैंने जयदेव पुरोहित के वंशजों से प्राप्त की हैं।
२. (क) पुरुषोत्तमदास, श्री पुरोहितजी का इतिहास, पृ० १-२।
(ख) पुरुषोत्तमदास, पुष्करणा ब्राह्मणों का इतिहास, पृ० १०३। पुरुषोत्तमदास ने यह बात भाट की वही से मालूम की है।
३. पुरुषोत्तमदास, श्री पुरोहितजी का इतिहास, पृ० २।
४. (क) औभा, सिरोही राज्य का इतिहास, पृ० २६४।
(ख) रेड, मारवाड़ का इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, पृ० २५४।
५. वही।
६. पुरुषोत्तमदास, श्री पुरोहितजी का इतिहास, पृ० २६।
७. एडम्स, पश्चिमी राजस्थान के राज्य, पृ० ४७।
८. पं० हीरालाल और गोकुलप्रसाद, मारवाड़ के सपूत, पृ० ७०।
९. खास, रक्का नं० ४, प्रथम ६ दो हे।
१०. लल्लूभाई भीमभाई देसाही, चौहान कुल कल्पद्रुम, पृ० २६५।
११. सिरोही निवासी श्री अचलमल मोदी इतिहास वेत्ता तथा सिरोही राजघराने से सम्बन्धित ने मुझे यह सूचना दी थी।
१२. लल्लूभाई, पृ० २६६।
१३. पुरुषोत्तमदास, श्री पुरोहितजी का इतिहास।
१४. खास रक्का, नं० १, दोहा नं० ८।
पटो हजार पचास रो, जीकारो कर जाव।
उठण वोह पसावरो, कुरव इतो इसकाव ॥
१५. खास रक्का, नं० १, इस रक्के पर तिथि दी गई है। वि० सं० १७७०।

१६. खास खका नं० १, दोहा, नं० ३ और १२ ।
१७. खास खका, नं० ३ ।
२८. (क) ओझा, जोधपुर राज्य का इतिहास, भाग २, पृ० ५०६ ।
 (ख) रेऊ, मारवाड़ का इतिहास, पृ० २७८ (चैत्र सुदी १५ तिथि दी है)
 (ग) राजरूपक में इस विषय में लिखा है—
 वरस तयालै चैत सुद, पूनम परम उजास । पृ० २६७ ।
 (घ) अजीत ग्रन्थ में चैत्र सुदी १० को इनका प्रकट होना लिखा है ।
 (छंद १४८२)
१९. खास खका, नं० १ ।
२०. खास खका, नं० ६, दोहा नं० १५ ।
२१. पुरुपोत्तमदास, श्री पुरोहितजी का इतिहास, पृ० ३१ ।
२२. (क) खास खका नं० १ “.....तिण ऊपर इतरी निवाजस मर्जी सूं फरमावता था राजा पदवी, उठारो नै द्योय पसाव रो कुरव, नें कँवरों री जायगी री बैठक, हाथी पालखी, मोती पुणची शिरपेच मोती री माला, तरवार कटारी नै खासी पोशाक, असवारी रो घोड़े इतरो बगसता... ।”
 (ख) खास खका, नं० ४, दोहा नं० १४-१५ ।
 चार अरठ द्योय गांवड़ा, तीजो तीखी गांव ।
 भौम इती इण भांत सूं, न हीज लेणों नाव ॥१४॥
 छव रुपिया थाली तरां, सावत इतरी साथ ।
 भौम उथापै भेदकर, तिणनुं तीन तलाख ॥१५॥

राजस्थान के जैन साहित्य का एक ऐतिहासिक अवलोकन

मुनि श्री महेन्द्र कुमार जी 'प्रथम'

लगभग दो हजार वर्ष पूर्व तक जैन धर्म का मुख्य केन्द्र बिहार प्रान्त था । चौबीस तीर्थकारों में से अधिकांश तीर्थंकर बिहार तथा उसके निकटवर्ती प्रदेश (वनारस, गोरखपुर, नेपाल की तराई तथा बंगाल) में ही विचरे थे । महावीर-निर्माण के लगभग १५० वर्ष पश्चात् इसी प्रदेश में सम्राट चन्द्रगुप्त हुए । वे भी जैन थे । आर्य भद्रबाहु उनके गुरु थे । सम्राट चन्द्रगुप्त ने एक बार रात्रि में सोलह स्वप्न देखे । इन स्वप्नों में नौवां स्वप्न था । “एक बहुत बड़ा सरोवर है । चारों ओर से वह सूखा है । केवल दक्षिण-पश्चिम में एक अंजलि मात्र पानी है ।” सम्राट चन्द्रगुप्त उन स्वप्नों से बहुत चिन्तित हुए । अष्टांग ज्योतिष के पारगामी आर्य भद्रबाहु से उन्होंने स्वप्नों का फलादेश पूछा । आर्य भद्रबाहु ने उनका सविस्तार उत्तर दिया । नौवें स्वप्न के फलादेश में उन्होंने बताया— “बड़े सरोवर के रूप में बिहार प्रदेश तथा उसका निकटवर्ती वह क्षेत्र है, जिसे तीर्थंकरों ने सदा से पावन किया है । भविष्य में इस प्रदेश में जैन धर्म का ह्रास होगा और इस प्रदेश में दक्षिण पश्चिम में वह बहुत थोड़ा रहेगा ।” आज के सन्दर्भ में यदि इस स्वप्न और इसके फलादेश का अंकन किया जाये तो यथार्थता बहुत समीप ही लगती है ।

बिहार में जैन धर्म का लगभग नाम शेष रह गया है। वहाँ तो केवल राजस्थान के प्रवासी ही अधिकांश जैन हैं।

राजस्थान बिहार से दक्षिण-पश्चिम में है। इस प्रदेश में जैन धर्म का प्रभाव ई० ७वीं, ८वीं शताब्दी से आरंभ होता है, अतः इस प्रदेश का जैन साहित्य भी इससे प्राचीन नहीं हो सकता।

राजस्थान के मुख्य-मुख्य नगरों में लमभग वारहसो वर्षों से जैन धर्म का प्रभाव रहा है। इनमें जयपुर, जोधपुर, बीकानेर और उदयपुर का स्थान मुख्य है। बीकानेर जोधपुर और उदयपुर में श्वेताम्बर सम्प्रदाय का प्रभाव अधिक है, जबकि जयपुर में दिगम्बर सम्प्रदाय का। श्वेताम्बर विद्वानों ने अधिकांशतः राजस्थानी भाषा को अपनाया और दिगम्बर विद्वानों ने राजस्थानी से अधिक हिन्दी को।

राजस्थानी भाषा

राजस्थानी भाषा के भण्डार को भरने में जैन साहित्यकारों का अनूठा योग-दान रहा है। अपभ्रंश भाषा का जैसे-जैसे राजस्थानी भाषा में समवतार होता गया, जैन विद्वान इस ओर बढ़ते गये। ११वीं शताब्दी में यह भाषा अपने आदिकाल के उत्कर्ष पर पहुँच चुकी थी। इस का मव्यकाल तो अतीव सुनहला था। रास, फागु, बेलि, बावनी, बत्तीसी, छत्तीसी, सज्भाय, व्यावला आदि अनेक रूपों में साहित्य की श्री—वृद्धि हुई। लोक कथाओं को भी एक नया रूप दिया गया, जिसके माध्यम से वे अमर बन गईं। 'ढोला मारू रादूहा' और 'गौरा बादल' आदि की रचनाएँ भी जैन सन्तों की बहुत प्रसिद्ध रही हैं। साथ ही जैन तत्व के गहन ग्रन्थों तथा आगमों पर लिखी गई टीकाएँ, टब्बा, बालाबबोध आदि ने भी इस भाषा के स्वरूप को निखारने में चार चाँद लगाये।

१६वीं शती तक के साहित्यकारों में मल्लिदास, जयवल्लभ, देवानन्दि अजित-द्वंसूरि, मतिशेखर, आज्ञासुन्दर, कल्याणनन्द, पुण्यसन्दि, कल्याण तिलक, क्षेमराज, क्षमाकलश, उपाध्याय राजशील, धर्म समुद्र, सहजसुन्दर, उपाध्याय भक्तिलाभ, चारु चन्द्र, पार्वचन्द्र सूरि, विजयदेव सूरि, वाचक विनय समुद्र, ब्रह्म जिनदास, उपाध्याय कमलसंयम, वाचक मालदेव, महोपाध्याय पुण्यसागर, उपाध्याय सावुकीर्ति, कनकसोम, रंगकुशल, लक्ष्मीप्रभ, कनकप्रभ, विमल तिलक, कुशल लाभ, हीर कलश, जयनिधान, वाचक गुणरत्न, चरित्रसिंह, हेमरत्न सूरि, सारंग, जयसोम, उपाध्याय गुणविनय, महोपाध्याय समयसुन्दर, पुण्यकीर्ति, उपाध्याय लब्धिकल्लोल, सहजकीर्ति, श्रीसार, विनयमेरू, वाचक सूरचन्द्र, समय प्रमोद, उपाध्याय समय राज, जिनसिंह सूरि, जिनराज सूरि, उपाध्याय शिवनिधान, विद्या कीर्ति, भुवनकीर्ति, लावण्यकीर्ति, लखपत, ब्रह्मरायमल, कुमुद चन्द्र, सुमतिकीर्ति सूरि, पाण्डे राजमल, जिनहर्ष, जिन समुद्र सूरि, महोपाध्याय लब्धोदय, योगीराज आनन्दधन, अभयसोम, सुभतितरंग, लाभवर्द्धन, राजलाभ, भर्ममन्दिर, उपाध्याय लक्ष्मीवल्लभ, कमलहर्ष, महोपाध्याय धर्मवर्द्धन, कुशलधीर, श्रीभद्र देवचन्द्र, अमर विजय, रामविजय, रंघुपति, सुमतिवल्लभ, ज्ञानसागर, जिनलाभ सूरि रूपचन्द्र, फकीरचन्द्र, जयमल्ल, रायचन्द्र, आसकरणा, सवलदास; खुसालचन्द्र,

विनयचन्द्र, सावन्त ऋषि, रत्न चन्द्र, चौथमल तथा तेरापन्थ के प्रवर्तक आचार्य श्री भीखणजी व मुनिश्री हेमराज जी आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं ।

संस्कृत-प्राकृत भाषाओं में

पूर्व चर्चित साहित्यकारों ने राजस्थानी भाषा में तो अनेक ग्रन्थ रचे ही, साथ ही अन्य भाषाओं में भी ग्रन्थों की रचना कर साहित्य के गौरव को बढ़ाया है। वाचक कल्याण तिलक की ५६ गाथाओं में कालकाचार्य की कथा और साधुकीर्ति की विशेष नाम माला, संधपट्टक वृत्ति, भक्तामर अवचूरी । १७ वीं शताब्दि के प्रारम्भ में विशेष प्रसिद्ध हुई। हर्षप्रभ के शिष्य कविवर हीरकलश ने संवत् १६२१ में प्रकृत भाषा में 'जोइस हीर' ग्रन्थ लिखा वह ग्रन्थ ज्योतिष के क्षेत्र में सर्वथा अनूठा रहा। इसी ग्रन्थ को उन्होंने संवत् १६५७ में राजस्थानी भाषा में भी बनाया। उसमें ६०५ पंख हैं। यह ग्रन्थ उनकी ज्योतिष की गहराई को प्रकट करता है। सतरहवीं सदी के वादि शिरामेणि गुण-रत्न ने रघु वंश, मेघदूत, न्यायसिद्धान्त जैसे ग्रन्थों पर टीकाएँ लिख कर अपनी तलस्पर्शिनी वित्तवता का परिचय दिया है। उपाध्याय जयसोम सतरहवीं सदी के संस्कृत के प्रसिद्ध कवि थे। उन्होंने कर्मचन्द्र वंशोत्कीर्ति नामक ऐतिहासिक काव्य लिखा है। इनके ही शिष्य गुणविनय ने इसी काव्य पर संस्कृत टीका लिखी है। कृष्ण रुक्मणी री वेलि (सं० १६७८) पर सुबोध मंजरी नामक टीका लिखने वाले कवि सारंग हुए हैं। इसी कड़ी में एक विशेष नाम उपाध्याय गुण विनय का भी है। इन्होंने नेमिदूत, नल-दमयन्ती चम्कू, रघुवंश, वैराग्य शतक, सुबोध सखतति, कर्मचन्द्र वंश प्रबन्ध, लघुशान्ति, इन्द्रिय पराजय शतक आदि बारह संस्कृत में टीकाएँ प्राकृत के काव्यों पर संस्कृत में टीकाएँ लिखीं। युगप्रधान जिनचन्द्र सूरि संवत् १६४८ में बादशाह अकबर को प्रतिबोध देने के लिये जब लाहौर गये थे, उपाध्याय गुणविनय भी उनके साथ थे।

महोपाध्याय समय सुन्दर की वेजोड़ प्रतिभा को देखकर तो सब की अंगुलि दान्तों तले लग जाती है। सं० १६४६ की बात है बादशाह अकबर ने कश्मीर-विजय के लिए प्रस्थान किया। प्रस्थान से पूर्व विद्वानों की एक सभा हुई। विद्वानों के समक्ष सुन्दरजी ने एक अद्भुत ग्रन्थ उपस्थित किया, जिसकी तुलना में संसार में आज तक भी कोई ग्रन्थ नहीं ठहर सका। उस ग्रन्थ का मुख्य आधार संस्कृत भाषा का आठ अक्षरों का एक वाक्य 'राजा नोददते सौख्यम्' है। इस ग्रन्थ में इस वाक्य के दस लाख अर्थ किये गये हैं। बादशाह अकबर और विद्वानों की वह सभा प्रतिभा के इस चमत्कार पर नतमस्तक हुई। काश्मीर-विजय से जब अकबर वापस लौटे तो जैन धर्म के अनेक आचार्यों तथा साधुओं का उन्होंने सम्मान किया। उनमें समय सुन्दर जी भी एक थे, जिन्हें उस अवसर पर वाचक पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया गया। व्याकरण, छन्द, काव्य, अलंकार, ज्योतिष आदि अनेक विषयों पर उन्होंने स्वतंत्र ग्रन्थ लिखे तथा अनेक ग्रन्थों पर उन्होंने टीकाएँ भी लिखीं। उनका साहित्य-निर्माण का समय वि० सं० १६४१ से १७०० का है।

ललित कीर्ति ने माघ काव्य और शीलोपदेश माला पर शताब्दि के उत्तरार्थ में संस्कृत टीकाएँ लिखीं। इसी अवधि में महोपाध्याय सहजकीर्ति ने व्याकरण कोष आदि

विषयों पर तथा कई अन्य ग्रन्थों पर संस्कृत भाषा में टीकाएं लिखीं। इसी अवधि में महौपाव्याय सहजकीर्ति ने व्याकरण कोष अदि विषयों पर तथा कई अन्य ग्रंथों पर संस्कृत भाषा में टीकाएं लिखीं। वि० सं० १६८० का वाचक सूरचन्द्र का संस्कृत महाकाव्य 'स्यूलि भद्र गुणमाला' संस्कृत साहित्य में अपना विशेष स्थान रखता है। पंचतीर्थी, श्लेषालंकार, चित्रकाव्य और शान्ति लहरी काव्य भी कवि की प्रतिभा के चमत्कार हैं। जैन तत्त्वसार नामक ग्रन्थ की संस्कृत में स्वोपज्ञ विस्तृत टीका सूरचन्द्र की ही देन है। इस प्रकार संस्कृत-प्राकृत में भी सैकड़ों प्रसिद्ध जैन साहित्यकार हुए हैं, जिन पर राजस्थान को गहरे गौरव की अनुभूति होती है।

१९ वीं शताब्दि के राजस्थानी साहित्यकारों की पहली पंक्ति में आने वाला नाम तेरापंथ के प्रवर्तक आचार्य भीखणजी का है। वे एक साधक सन्त थे। उन्होंने साधना के क्षेत्र में एक नया और क्रान्तिकारी दृष्टिकोण दिया था। उनमें अथक आत्मबल था, अतः उन्होंने विरोधों की तनिक भी परवाह नहीं की और अपने मार्ग पर बढ़ते गये। साहित्य उनका मुख्य कार्य नहीं था, पर उनके ग्रन्थों के अवलोकन से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वे कुशल साहित्यकार थे। साहित्य साधना की अपेक्षा रखता है। साधना आचार्य भीखणजी के जीवन में साकार थी, अतः उनकी लेखनी जिस ओर चली, मुक्त रूप से चली। तेरापंथ के चतुर्थ आचार्य श्री जयाचार्य ने आचार्य भीखणजी का जीवन चरित्र 'भिकरबु जज्ञ रसायन' के नाम से लिखा है। उसमें आचार्य भीखणजी का ग्रन्थ परिमाण अड़तीस हजार पद्यों का है। आचार्य भीखणजी की अधिकांश रचनाओं का मुख्य आधार जैन तत्त्व-दर्शन है। नवपदारथ की चौपाई, श्रावक ना वारे व्रत, कालवादी की चौपाई, निक्षेपा की चौपाई, जिनाग्यारी चौपाई, अनुकम्पा की चौपाई, आदि उनमें मुख्य हैं। कुछ एक जीवन चरित्र भी हैं। आचार्य भीखणजी की शैली सरल है, किन्तु कहीं-कहीं उसमें तीखे वाण भी हैं। उनका समय वि० सं० १७८३ से १८६० का है। पर उनका अधिकांश साहित्य सं० १८३२ से सं० १८६० के बीच लिखा गया है।

१९ वीं शती के उत्तरार्ध के और २० वीं शती के पूर्वार्ध के साहित्यकारों में अग्रणी नाम जयाचार्य का है। उनका वि० सं० १८६० से १९३६ तक का है। जयाचार्य वचपन से ही साहित्य के नाना क्षेत्रों में उत्तर आये थे। पन्नबणासूत्र जैन आगमों में सबसे क्लिष्ट है, फिर भी जयाचार्य ने १८ वर्ष की अवस्था में ही उस पर जोड़ (राजस्थानी भाषा में पद्यानुवाद) लिख दी थी। अन्य कई जैन आगमों पर भी उन्होंने सुविस्तृत जोड़े लिखीं। भगवती सूत्र जैन आगमों में सबसे बड़ा है। राजस्थानी भाषा और राजस्थानी के लोक गीतों की धुन पर इसी आगम पर जोड़े लिखकर उन्होंने राजस्थानी भाषा और जैन साहित्य को बहुत बड़ी देन दी है। उनके द्वारा लिखित चरित्र ग्रन्थ तथा कथा ग्रन्थ भी अनेक हैं, और काफी बड़े हैं। कुछ ग्रन्थों की पद्य संख्या हजारों में है। उनके तत्व-प्रधान ग्रन्थों में 'भीखी चरचा' तथा 'प्रश्नोत्तर तत्व बोध' आदि मुख्य हैं। राजस्थानी गद्य में भी उन्होंने ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। साहित्य का परिमाण तीन लाख पद्यों से भी अधिक है।

वर्तमान के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ज्यों ही हम निकट भूत में दृष्टि डालते हैं, एक ऐसे मनीषी का पाते हैं, जिसने संस्कृत व्याकरण के क्षेत्र में अनूठा कार्य किया है। वे हैं, मुनी श्री चौथमल जी। कई शताब्दियों से संस्कृत व्याकरण का पल्लवन नहीं हो पाया था। रूढ़ हो जाने से उसमें नाना प्रश्न उठ रहे थे, जो समाधान की अपेक्षा रखते थे। मुनि श्री चौथमल जी वि० सं० १६८१ से १६९० तक की अवधि में विभिन्न व्याकरणों की शोध कर 'भिक्षु शब्दानुशासन' के नाम से एक सांगोपांग व्याकरण का निर्माण किया। पं० रघुनन्दन शर्मा उस कार्य में उनके अनन्य साथी थे।

वर्तमान में आचार्य श्री तुलसी तथा उनके संघ का साहित्य के क्षेत्र में विशेष अनुदान है। हिन्दी, संस्कृत, राजस्थानी तथा प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में नाना विषयों में ललित साहित्य लिखा गया है। आचार्य श्री तुलसी ने राजस्थानी में कालूयशोविलास, डालिम चरित्र, माणिक महिमा आदि चरित्र-ग्रन्थ तथा मारत मुक्ति व अग्नि-परीक्षा आदि महाकाव्य व खण्ड-काव्य लिखे हैं। इसी प्रकार उनहोंने संस्कृत में दर्शन और योग विषयक ग्रन्थ भी लिखे हैं। उनकी वाचना-प्रभुखता में जैन आगमों का हिन्दी-अनुवाद, सम्पादन, विवेचन आदि का उच्चस्तरीय कार्य हो रहा है। मुनिश्री नथमलजी, मुनिश्री बुद्धमलजी तथा मुनिश्री नगराज जी मूर्धन्य साहित्यकार हैं। आधुनिक तथा शोध साहित्य तीनों ही मुनिवरों का अधिकृत क्षेत्र है। प्रत्येक लेखक के दसों ग्रन्थ साहित्यिक जगत में समादृत हो चुके हैं। मुनिश्री नगराजजी 'आगम और त्रिपिटक: एक अनुशीलन' नाम से एक बहुद् ग्रन्थ लिख रहे हैं, जिसका पहला खण्ड 'इतिहास और परम्परा' शीघ्र ही सामने आ रहा है। जैन और बौद्ध इतिहास व परम्परा के युगपत् अध्ययन के बारे में यह एक पहला कार्य होगा।

प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में

तेरापन्थ के साधु जिस प्रान्त में गये, उसी प्रान्त की भाषा को उन्होंने अपनाया। पंजाब और गुजरात राजस्थान के पड़ोस में हैं। इस संघ के साधुओं ने पंजाबी और गुजराती भाषा में भी विपुल साहित्य लिखा है। मुनिश्री धनराज जी 'प्रथम' और मुनिश्री चन्दन मल जी ने इस दिशा में अनेक महत्वपूर्ण रचनाएँ की हैं। मुनिश्री सोहनलाल जी राजस्थानी भाषा के जन कवि हैं।

राजस्थान के जैन साहित्य का प्राचीन इतिहास तथा नवीन इतिहास बहुत विशाल है। अपेक्षा है, नये दृष्टिकोण से उसकी समीक्षा, सम्पादन तथा विवेचन किया जाये। बहुत सारे ग्रन्थ अब तक भण्डारों की ही शोभा बढा रहे हैं। जब वे नई सज्जा से विद्वानों के हाथों में आयेंगे, विश्वास है, वे उन्हें प्रीणित कर सकेंगे।

बुद्धि विलास : एक ऐतिहासिक कृति

डॉ० कस्तूरचन्द कासलीवाल

राजस्थान के जैन ग्रन्थागारों में दो लाख से भी अधिक पाण्डुलिपियों का विशाल संग्रह उपलब्ध है। ये पाण्डुलिपियों संस्कृत, प्राकृत अपभ्रंश, हिन्दी एवं राजस्थानी

भाषा में निबद्ध हैं तथा जैन धर्म से सम्बन्धित पाण्डुलिपियों के अतिरिक्त उनमें काव्य, पुराण कथा, राम, नाटक, आयुर्वेद ज्योतिष, गणित विषयों पर भी अपार साहित्य मिलता है। यही नहीं भारतीय इतिहास से सम्बन्धित कृतियां भी यत्र-तत्र उपलब्ध होती हैं। इन पाण्डुलिपियों का सूक्ष्म अध्ययन प्रत्येक भारतीय विद्वान द्वारा अपेक्षित है।

इतिहास सम्बन्धी पुस्तकों में राजवंश वर्णन, जयपुर का इतिहास, बुद्धिविलास, राजावलि दोहा, सकल कीर्ति रास, हसनखां की कथा, भट्टारक पट्टावलियां आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। इन ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन में भारतीय एवं प्रादेशिक इतिहास से सम्बन्धित कितने ही नये तथ्य उद्घरित होते हैं। ग्रंथ एवं लेखक प्रसस्तियों में जो ऐतिहासिक सामग्री उपलब्ध होती है वह तो और महत्वपूर्ण है और उसके आधार पर इतिहास की कितनी ही टूटी कड़ियों को जोड़ा जा सकता है। प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में 'बुद्धि-विलास' पर प्रकाश डालने का प्रयत्न किया गया है।

'बुद्धि विलास' कविवर वल्लराम साह की एक हिन्दी कृति है। कवि ने इसे जयपुर नगर में संवत् १२२७ में पूर्ण किया था। यह 'विलास' कवि की एक महत्वपूर्ण रचना है। यह किसी एक प्रमुख विषय पर आधारित न होकर विभिन्न विषयों से सम्बन्धित है लेकिन सभी विषय इतिहास से अधिक सम्बन्धित हैं, वल्लराम अपने युग के अच्छे विद्वान थे, इसलिए उन्होंने जो कुछ अपनी कृतियों में लिखा है, वह पूर्ण अंश पोह के बाद लिखा है। बुद्धि विलास की दो प्राचीन पाण्डुलिपियां महावीर-भवन, जयपुर के संग्रह में हैं तथा यह पद्मघर पाठक के सम्पादकत्व में प्राच्य विद्या प्रतिष्ठान से सन् १९६४ में प्रकाशित हो चुका है।

'बुद्धि विलास' में जिन ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों का वर्णन मिलता है, उनमें जयपुर नगर वर्णन, राजवंश वर्णन, जैन संघ वर्णन एवं भट्टारक संस्था की उत्पत्ति एवं उस परम्परा में होने वाले भट्टारकों का वर्णन व खण्डेलवाल जाति उत्पत्ति वर्णन-आदि प्रमुख हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त और भी कितने ही तथ्य जो इस कृति में प्रस्तुत किए हैं वे महत्वपूर्ण हैं और इतिहास की कड़ियों को जोड़ने वाले हैं।

सर्वप्रथम कवि ने जयपुर नगर की स्थापना एवं उसके निर्माण की कहानी को प्रस्तुत किया है। कहानी बड़ी रोमाञ्चक है और ऐसा लगता है जैसे कवि ने उन सबकों देखने के पश्चात् दी है और निम्न छन्द लिखकर ही विग्राम ले लिया—

नगर बसायो यक मयी जयसंघ सवाई ।
जाकी सोभा जगत में, दसहों दिसि छाई ॥
ताको बरनन करन की हुलसि मति भेरी ।
यंद्रपुरी है जानियो ताकी है चेरी ॥६७॥

इसके पश्चात् कवि ने लिखा है कि नगर के चारों ओर परकोटा बनावाया गया। परकोटे पर कंगूरे लगाये परकोटे के चारों ओर जो चौड़ी खाई है, वह मानों नहीं के समान मालूम पड़ती है। चारों दरवाजों पर गोखे बने हुए हैं, जिन पर पहरेदार बैठते हैं। चौपड़

वाले बाजार हैं, जिनके बीच में चौक बनाये गये हैं। बाजार मध्य नहर रखी गई है जिसके बीच बीच में बड़े बड़े नाले हैं। चौपड़ के मध्य जो कुण्ड है, उनमें हजारों नर नारी पानी पीते हैं। नगर में देश के कोने कोने से हिन्दू मुस्लिम एवं अंग्रेज ज्योतिषियों ने आकर विशाल यंत्र की रचना की थी तथा तिथि पत्र का निकालना प्रारम्भ किया था।

इस तिथि-पत्र का नाम जय विनोद था। नगर में बाहर से कितने ही विद्वान एवं दार्शनिक बुलाये गये। कितने ही कारीगरों को आमंत्रित किया गया और उन्हें न. शुल्क जमीन देकर बसाया गया। इसके पश्चात् कवि ने विभिन्न प्रकार के उद्योग धन्धों पर विस्तृत प्रकाश डाला है।

महाराजा जयसिंह की जो अपार सम्पत्ति थी उसका भी कवि ने विस्तृत वर्णन किया है। महाराजा के बड़े-बड़े महलों का कवि ने अतीव विस्तृत एवं सुन्दर वर्णन किया है। कवि ने नगर के पूर्व में रघुनाथगढ़, दक्षिण में शंकरगढ़, हथशेही, तथा सुदर्शन गढ़ आदि गढ़ों का भी उल्लेख किया है। महाराजा जयसिंह ने एक अश्वमेध यज्ञ भी किया था। उस समय कितने ही ब्राह्मण परिवार आये थे, जिन्हें ब्रह्मपुरी में बसाया गया था। इसी तरह कवि ने नगर के मन्दिर, उद्यान आदि का भी विस्तृत वर्णन किया है। पूरा का पूरा वर्णन ऐतिहासिक है और उससे नगर निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में कितनी ही जानकारी मिलती है।

इसी प्रकार कवि ने दिगम्बर जैन भट्टारक परम्परा की उत्पत्ति एवं उसमें होने वाले विभिन्न भट्टाहरकों के नाम दिये गये हैं। भट्टारक संस्था साधु संस्था होने पर भी जैन समाज की सारी वागडौर इन्हीं के हाथ में थी। ये बड़े भरी विद्वान थे। इन्होंने आध्यात्मिक बल से मुगल बादशाहों एवं देशी नरेशों को अपने वश में कर रखा था, कवि ने प्रस्तुत कृति में इसका अतीव सुन्दरता से वर्णन किया है।

'बुद्धि-विलास' में कवि ने जो तीसरा ऐतिहासिक वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया है, वह जयपुर के शासकों से सम्बन्धित है। कवि के अनुसार संवत् ११८१ में चम्पावती (आमेर) पर भवेसी राजा का शासन था। उसके पश्चात् वीसल राजा ने शासन किया। वीसल राजाके पश्चात् होने वाले शासकों में कोहण, जैणसी, उदैकरण, नरसिंह, चन्द्रसेनिव, पृथ्वीराज के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। पृथ्वीराज का उत्तराधिकारी भारमल था; जिसके शासन काल में मुगल शासन ने प्रवेश किया। भारमल के पश्चात् महाराजा भगवंत दास हुए और उनके पश्चात् हुए महाराजा-मानसिंह जिनके सम्बन्ध में कवि ने काफ़ी अच्छा वर्णन किया है। वीरता एवं रथ कौशल के लिए कवि ने महाराजा मानसिंह की अत्यधिक प्रशंसा की है।

कवि ने मानसिंह की वीरता का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि मानसिंह द्वारा युद्ध में हजारों लाखों योद्धा मारे जाने के कारण ही सागर का जल खारा हो गया। मानसिंह के पश्चात् जगतसिंह एवं मानसिंह से दो राजकुमार हुए। भावसिंह के शासन के पश्चात् महाराजा जयसिंह हुए, जिनकी वीरता एवं बहादुरी सारे देश में विख्यात थी। जयसिंह के पश्चात् रामसिंह, विशनसिंह एवं उनके पश्चात् महाराजा जयसिंह द्वितीय हुए—जिन्होंने जयपुर नगर को बसाया था।

जावर (योगिनीपुर) तथा वसन्तगढ़ की खानें और शिलालेख

वलवन्त सिंह महता

घटनाओं के रूप बदलते रहने पर भी इतिवृत्त वही रहना इसी कारण 'इतिहास की केवल आवृत्ति होती है' यह कथन कितना सत्य है यह नहीं कहा जा सकता पर जावर के इतिहास के सम्बन्ध में यह सोलह आना सही सिद्ध हुआ है।

जावर प्राचीन समय से अपनी भू सम्पत्ति जस्ता, सीसा और चान्दी की लोक विख्यात खानों के कारण प्रसिद्ध रहा है। भारतवर्ष में चान्दी की तो प्रथम और अन्तिम यही खान रही है। सम्पत्ता के उद्गम के साथ ही मानव सेवा में जस्ते का उपयोग होने लगा और जगत ने सबसे पहले जस्ते के दर्शन यहीं किये और उसकी सेवा का उपयोग भी सबसे पहले यहीं हुआ। यह ऐतिहासिक तथ्य इतिहासकारों और वैज्ञानिकों द्वारा स्वीकार कर लिया गया है। योरोप में सबसे पहले 'जस्ता' जावर की खानों का ही पहुँचा और जस्ते का ज्ञान भी उन्हें तब ही हुआ। योरोप-पुरातत्व वेत्ताओं का यह मानना कि ये खानें दो हजार वर्ष से अधिक पुरानी है प्रमाणित करना है कि ये खाने संसार में जस्ते की न केवल प्रथम हैं किन्तु सबसे पुरानी खानों में से भी है।³ अतः संसार में पूर्व युगमें इन खानों का जो महत्व और स्थान था वह मध्य युग में और भी बढ़ा क्योंकि उस समय जस्ते के अतिरिक्त चादी और सीसा भी निकालने लगे थे और तब तक जस्ता भी विदेशों में जाना शुरू हो गया था। इससे इसकी प्रसिद्धि सारे संसार में हो गई। आज के वैज्ञानिक और तकनीकी युग में भी इनके अपने पूर्व गौरव और स्थान पर पहुँचने में कोई आशंका नहीं की जा सकती।

जावर का खनिज क्षेत्र अरावली की पहाड़ियों में आ गया है जो संसार की सब पुरानी पहाड़ियाँ हैं। अभी तक इसका बहुत ही कम सर्वेक्षण हो पाया है फिर भी अब तक की खोज से इसके अद्भुत भण्डार का पता सारे जगत को हो गया है। भारतवर्ष में यही प्रदेश खनिज सम्पदा में सबसे बनी और विविध प्रकार के बहुमूल्य द्रव्यों से सम्पन्न माना जाता है। कर्नल टाड ने इसी प्रदेश में सात धातुएँ-चान्दी, सीसा, जस्ता, ताम्बा, सुरमा, लोहा और सोने के पाये जाने का उल्लेख किया है। सोने को छोड़ कर बाकी सब द्रव्यों की आज भी यहां खाने मौजूद है जो वर्षों तक चल चुकी है। जावर की खाने मुख्यतः जस्ते और सीसे की हैं। चादी-जस्ते और सीसे दोनों में पायी जाती है। सीसे में चान्दी का परिमाण अधिक होने से प्रायः सर्वत्र चादी, निकालते हैं। उन्नत 'तकनीकी' देश जस्ते से भी चादी, निकाल लेते हैं जब कि हमारे यहां साधन और 'तकनीक' के अभावसे जस्ते में से चादी इस समय नहीं निकाल सके हैं। इस समय चादी केवल सीसे से ही निकाली जा रही है। जस्ते की चादी अभी तक उसके कीट Slag में यो ही छोड़ दी जाती है। जस्ते में, चाँदी, कडेमियम, निकल, ताम्बा, सुरमा, लोहा आदि भी पाया जाता है। इस समय देवारी के जस्ते के लगे हुए, आधुनिक नये कारखाने से केवल कडेमियम निकाला जाता है। इस वर्ष करीब ८० टन 'कडेमियम' धातु निकाली गई जिसकी किमत करीब एक करोड़ रुपया कूँती जाती है।

चांदी और सीसे की खानों का १३ वीं शताब्दी में राणा लाखा के समय में चालू होना माना जाता है किन्तु कर्नल टाड ने जन श्रुति के आधार पर गुहिल राजा शीलादित्य का समय सामोवी लेख के अनुसार ७ वीं शताब्दी का है। इसी शिला लेख में वट नगर के महाजन संघ द्वारा वहाँ भीलों की कुल देवी के मंदिर बनाने का उल्लेख है जिसमें देवी के पहले श्री लक्ष्मी का प्रयोग किया गया है। टाड ने यह भी लिखा कि जब से ये खानें चालू हुई तब से ही वे लोग इस देवी को लक्ष्मी के नाम से पुकारते रहे यद्यपि वह मूर्ति चाण्डिका की है। यह संभव है कि चांदी के वहाँ निकलने के कारण ही उन्होंने इस देवी का नाम लक्ष्मी रखा हो। इसी लेख में यद्यपि किसी भी धातु के निकलने का उल्लेख नहीं फिर भी वि० सं० ७०३ में वहाँ खानों के चालू रहने के उल्लेख से यह स्पष्ट है कि जहाँ इन खानों का समय १२ वीं शताब्दी से माना जाता है वहाँ यह समय ७ वीं शताब्दी तक जा पहुँचता है। उस समय चांदी की ये खान भी अवश्य ही चालू होगी। भारतवर्ष में चांदी की केवल यही एक खान मानी गई है। मेवाड़ के राजा गुहादित्य के २००० दो हजार चांदी के सिक्के कालाड़िल को जो आगरा के पास मिले हैं वे अवश्य ही इसी खान के होने चाहिये। उज्जैन के महा प्रतापी राजा चंद्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य के पिता गंधर्व सेन के आहाड़ में जो गद्यैय सिक्के चांदी के प्रायः मिलते हैं वे भी अब इसी खान के होने चाहिये। इससे भी चांदी की खानों का का समय बहुत दूर चला जाता है।

मेवाड़ के राजा शीलादित्य के समय के मिले हुए सांमोली लेख में वटनगर के महाजन संघ द्वारा (जावर में) आगर-खान चलाये जाने का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है जहाँ महाजन संघ के मुखिया जतक द्वारा लोक जीवन (आजीविका) वहाँ के निवासी अरव्यवासियों को देने का और महाजन संघ के आदेश से उन लोगों की कुल देवी के मंदिर बनाने का भी वर्णन है। यह लेख वि. सं. ७०३ का है। श्रद्धेय पं. ओभाजी ने इस वटनगर को सिरोही का वर्तमान वसंतगढ़ माना है। वि. सं० ७४४ के समय की इसी वसंतगढ़ काँ दो सुंदर पीतल की मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं। ये दोनों मूर्तियाँ का उदसग-कायोत्सर्ग के ध्यान स्थित अवस्था की गुप्तकालीन कला की सुन्दर जैन मूर्तियाँ मानी गई हैं जो इस समय पींडवाडे के मन्दिर में देखी जा सकती हैं। यह हम पहले ही बता चुके हैं कि पीतल बिना जस्ते के नहीं बन सकता अतः इन मूर्तियों की धातु 'पीतल' अवश्य ही जावर से आनी चाहिये। इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि जावर की जस्ते की खाने वि. क्रम की ७ वीं शताब्दी में चालू थी। ४ थी और ५ वीं शताब्दी की धातु की मूर्तियाँ कई जगह मिली हैं। मूर्तियों पर लेख इस प्रकार है :—

“[नीराग] त्वादिभावेन सर्व्वं ज्ञत्व विभाव कै । ज्ञात्वा भगवता रूपं जिनानामेव पावनं ॥ द्रो (णो) वक यशोदेव... । ...रदं क्षेत्रजैनं कारिते युग्ममुत्त मं ॥ भवशत पपं पराज्जित गुरु कर्म्मर...पित दर्शनाय बुद्ध सज्ज्ञान चरण लाभाय ॥ सं. ७४४

साक्षात् पिताम हे नेव सर्व रूप विधायिन ॥

शिल्पिना शिवनागेन कृत भेतज्जिन द्वयं ॥

इसका सरांश यह है कि एगोवक यशो देव ने जिनेश्वर भगवान की इन दोनों प्रतिभाओं को सम्यक दर्शन, ज्ञान और चारित्र्य के लाभ के लिये सं ७४४ में बनाई। इन मूर्तियों का शिल्पी शिवनाग नामक व्यक्ति था और यह अपने दादा—पितामह यशोदेव के समान ही कुशल शिल्पी था।^१

१४ वीं शताब्दी से लगाकर १८ वीं शताब्दी तक के कई शिलालेखों, पुस्तकों आदि में 'जावर' के उल्लेख मिलते हैं। वे प्रायः सब ही प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं अतः वे यहाँ नहीं दिये गये पर करोड़ों मन, चान्दी, जस्ता व सीसे गालने व शुद्ध करने की जो मिट्टी की मूसें (crucibles) मिलती हैं उससे यह स्पष्ट मालुम हो ताकि है कि भट नगर इस समय से भी पहले बड़ा समृद्धिशाली था।

अब हम मेवाड़ के गुरिल राजा शीला दित्य के समय के वि० सं० ७०३ के शिला लेख का वर्णन करेंगे जो जावर की खानों से सम्बन्धित है तथा उस समय इन खानों का संचालन किस प्रकार से होता था। राज्य में तथा अड़ोस-पड़ोस के राज्यों में कितनी शान्ति थी और जगह जगह किस प्रकार उद्योग घन्ये पनप रहे थे। खानों के मजदूर वर्ग की क्या स्थिति थी। शिक्षा की क्या दशा थी—इन सब पर इस का प्रभाव दिखाई पड़ेगा।

कर्नल टाड को यह लेख नहीं मिल पाया फिर भी जनश्रुति के आधार पर शीलादित्य के समय याने ७ वीं शताब्दी में इन खानों के चालू रहने की बात का हवाला उसने अपने प्रसिद्ध इतिहास में दे दी दिया।

सब से पहले यह प० गौरी शंकरजी ओझा को मिला जिसे डॉ० भाण्डर कर, पं० रामकरण आसोपा, आर. आर. हलधर आदि विद्वानों ने पढ़ा। आसोपाजी ने इसे नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा की पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किया और हलधर महोदय ने एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका सन् १९३० में। ध्यातव्य है कि शिलालेख के दोनो पाठ न तो शुद्ध रूपमें पाठकों के समक्ष आस के और न वहाँ इस की विषय वस्तु के बारे में अधिक गहराई से विवेचन ही हुआ।

इस लेख का महत्व अब तक यही मान कर आंका गया कि राजस्थान के राजवंशों में प्राचीन गुरिल-वंश का यह सबसे प्राचीन लेख है और तत्कालीन शासकों एवं उनके समय को निश्चित करने में सहायक है। किन्तु इस की उपादेयता अन्य दृष्टियों से भी है। इस के द्वारा तट युगीन जीवन साहित्य, उद्योग, व्यापार, निगम, संगठन आदि पर अच्छा प्रकाश पड़ता है। अतः यदि इसे सांस्कृतिक लेख कहे तो अनुचित नहीं है।

यह देश का पहला लेख है जो किसी प्रजाजन के सम्मान में उसके उपकारों के प्रति कृतज्ञाता-ज्ञापन हेतु जनता द्वारा तैयार किया गया था। जब कभी जन भगीरथों का इतिहास निमित्त होगा तब यह लेख अमुल्यनिधि माना जायगा। अद्यावधि हमारे देश में इतिहास नायक राजा ही रहे हैं। अतः प्रस्तुत लेख के नायक 'जन्तेक' उद्योग जगत का भगीरथ—तथा उसके द्वारा लाई गई 'लोक जीवन' रूपी रांगा की ओर किसी का ध्यान नहीं गया। लेख में जन्तेक का नाम तीन बार आया है और यह सारा लेख उसकी प्रशस्तिका है। प्रशस्ति में उनके द्वारा उत्पन्न किये गये ऐसे आगरा का उल्लेख है जिसे लोक जीवन कहा गया है। अनुमान है हमारे देश में भी अब तक ऐसे बहुत कम शिला लेख मिले होंगे जिनमें 'लोक जीवन' जैसा विशिष्ट तथ्य जुड़ा हों।

पं० आसोपाजी ने अपने लेख में 'आगरा' का अर्थ अवश्य दिया है—नमक की खान, अथवा ढेर; किन्तु मेवाड़ का नमक की खान से क्या सम्बन्ध? संभवतः इस लिये उन्होंने मेवाड़ में 'आगरा' वाले स्थान की खोज नहीं की। यदि वे लेख में वर्णित स्वरूप वाली देवी, उसके मन्दिर, आरण्य प्रदेश, कूपगिरि में से किसी एक स्थान की भी तलाश करते तो शायद उन्हें यह अर्थ की खैचातानी नहीं करनी पड़ती।

इस लेख में संस्कृत के साथ कुछ प्राकृत शब्दों का भी उपयोग हुआ है जिस से जन साधारण को इस का आशय आसानी से समझ में आ सके।

प्रशस्ति का नायक जन्तेक का, अपने निवास स्थान वट नगर से निकल देवी मन्दिर या आगरा की तरफ जाते हुए, मार्ग में वीमार हो मर जाना प्रतीत होता है। वर्णन से लगता है कि मृत्युपरान्त, उसे प्रतिष्ठित समझ लोगों द्वारा उसका 'डोल' निकाला गया होगा तथा जहाँ वह जलाया गया वहाँ चबुतरा या 'छत्री' बनाकर उसकी स्मृति में उसके मुख्य कामों को गिनते हुये प्रशस्ति लगाई गई होगी जो यही लेख हो सकता है। कुछ विद्वानों ने उसका स्वयं का जल कर मर जाना माना है वह गलत है, क्योंकि इस प्रकार की मृत्यु आत्मघात पाप ही है और आत्मघातियों के पीछे उनकी प्रशस्तियाँ नहीं लगायी जाती हैं। लेख में जन्तेक के सब ही अच्छे कामों का उल्लेख है। फिर वह आत्मघात करता तो क्यों?

लेख में जो देवी का वर्णन किया गया है वह पुरा का पुरा जावर की देवी से मिलता है। प्रथम तीन पंक्तियों में यह वर्णन है। चौथी पाँचवीं पंक्तियों में नृपति राजा शीला दित्य का जयकार है। विशेषणों में उसे शत्रुओं का विजेता, देव द्विज, गुरु और प्रजा को आनन्द देने वाला तथा उसे अपने कुल का चन्द्रमा कहा है। ५ वीं पंक्तियों में महाजनों का प्रमुख जेक (जंतक) का आरण्यक प्रदेश के कूपगिरी स्थान में लोगों के जीवन (आजीविका) रूनी आगरा को उत्पन्न करने के कारण, जयकार किया गया है तथा कहा गया है कि नाना देशों से आये हुए अठारह वैतालियों से विख्यात और धन धान्य से परिपूर्ण एवं दृष्ट प्रष्ट श्रमिकों की भीड़ वहाँ नित्य लगी रहती थी, ऐसे स्थान पर, महाजन संघ की आज्ञा से आरण्यवासियों की देवी का मन्दिर महत्तर (गांव का मुखिया) जोंया ने बनवाया। जंतक को वट नगर विनिर्गत कहा गया है। १० वीं पंक्ति में देवी के मन्दिर की प्रतिष्ठा का उल्लेख है। ११-१२ पंक्तियों में अधिकांश अक्षर

दूट जाने व धिस जाने से अर्थ नहीं निकलता तथापि यंह निश्चित है कि ये पंक्तियां जेतक की मृत्यु से सम्बन्धित है । नीचे हम अविकल रूप में पाठ दे रहे हैं :—

१. ओं नमः ॥ प्रनात दिन कृमंरी चिचिछुरित पाद पद्य पत्र छवि दुरितमाशु श्रण्डिका पाद न ।
२. यं ॥ हरे शिखि शिखा भ केसर स्थितम पास्तर जनू पुरा भयाः छुरित दिवि भाव स ।
३. दाः असुरोर स्थल शूल विनिर्भिन मुद्गर रुधिर निवहं । महालोक्य केसरि वहति ति ।
४. रश्च चापलम मप्येव भयमुद्विजनिवः ॥ जयति विजयी रिपूनां देव द्विज गुरु ।
५. जरांगानदी : श्री शीलादिन्यो नरपति स्वकुंलावर चन्द्रमा पृथ्वीः ॥ जयति वट ।
६. नगर विनिर्गत महाजने जेक प्रमुखं । येनास्य लोक जीवन आगरमु ।
७. प्लादित मारण्य कूप गिरी । नानादि देश मांगत अष्टादश वैतालिलेक विख्यातः
८. धन धान्य हूष्ट पुष्ट विष्टजन नित्य संवावं ॥ एभिगुणै युतं तत्र (जेन्त) ।
९. कमहतर श्री अरण्यवासिण्यां देव कुलं चत्र महाजन दिष्ट ॥ देवीच प्रति ।
१०. ष्टाप्यं मनुपायतु चिः सच जेन्तक महतरः आस...
११. वसत दूता समवेज्ञ । देवुवक सिधायत (ने)...
१२. लनं प्रविष्ट ॥ ७००३ ॥ कति (क) ।

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राजस्थानी पगड़ी

प्रमोद कुमार

राजस्थानी पहनाव में पगड़ी का अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है, यह शरीर के सर्वोच्च स्थान मस्तक पर पहनी जाती है तथा यह सदैव से मर्यादा की प्रतीक रही है । यथा जब कभी द्वन्द्व में राजा परजित हो जाता था तो उसे अपनी, मान मर्यादा का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली पगड़ी को, विजित राजा के चरणों में अर्पित करना होता था, जो कि शरीर का निम्नतम स्थान है । वैसे तो सर्वत्र भारत में इसका प्रचलन है किन्तु राजस्थान में इसका अपना विशिष्ट स्थान है । अपनी पगड़ी के लिए राजस्थानी जनमानस सदैव कुछ करने को तत्पर रहता है । इसीलिए इस पगड़ी पर उसका विशेष ध्यान रहता था । इसी कारण जब कहीं वह अतिथि बनकर जाता था तो यही सबसे आकर्षण की वस्तु थी । राजस्थान के लोकगीत की एक पंक्ति है :— “दूर देस रा आया पावंगा वान्धे पाग भला की ।”

राजस्थानी पगड़ी के बान्धने में अपनी विशेष रुचि व कौशल का प्रदर्शन करता था, यदि उसके आटे में थोड़ी भी ढिलाई की तो वह पगड़ी व्यर्थ थी । राजस्थान में एक प्राचीन लौकिकीत है—

‘विना कण्ठ को गावै राग, विना लूण को रान्वे साग ।

विना पैच की वान्वे पाम, न तो राग, न तो साग, न तो पाग ॥”

भारत के प्राचीनतम अवशेषों में मोहनजोदड़ों में, पगड़ी का प्रारम्भिक रूप देखा जा सकता है, जो कि पुजारी के मस्तक पर एक पटीनुमा रूप में बन्धा हुआ है। यहां मस्तक के चारों ओर एक चौड़ी पट्टी है तथा ठीक ललाट प्रदेश के मध्य में एक गोल चक्र है (सम्भवतः उसका कोई धार्मिक महत्व रहा होगा अथवा यह कोई राज्य चिन्ह भी हो सकता है)। इसी को यदि पगड़ी का प्रारम्भिक रूप माने तो इसका पूर्ण विकसित रूप सांची, भरकत, अमरावती आदि की मूर्तियों में देखने को मिलता है। ये मूर्तियां तीसरी शताब्दी ईस्वी पूर्व से लेकर प्रथम शताब्दी ईस्वी तक की है। (वस्तु! सिन्धुघाटी के हद से इस काल के प्रारम्भ तक कला दार हैं निर्मित होने के कारण क्षण भंगुर ही रही। सिकन्दर के आक्रमण के बाद, सम्भवतः विदेशी प्रभाव के फलस्वरूप काण्ठ का स्थान पापाण ने ले लिया।) इससे पगड़ी का आकार-प्रकार बड़ा होगया तथा उसके बान्धने में भी एक प्रकार की चतुराई भुड देने लगती है। सिर पर केशों के जूड़ के चारों ओर पगड़ी घूम जाती है तथा कई वार सिर पर दो गोले दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। सांची, भारहुत, अमरावती, कालें, कान्हेरी आदि में इसके कई प्रकार देखे जा सकते हैं; यह विविधता बहुत संख्या में लब्ध है।

प्रथम शताब्दी ई०पू. के चित्रों में भी इस पगड़ी के दर्शन किये जा सकते हैं। अजन्ता की दसवीं गुफा में, छन्दक जातक का चित्रण है; वहाँ एक विशिष्ट प्रकार की पगड़ी राजा के बन्धी हुई है, जिसमें केशों को विशेष रीति से दिखलाया गया। इसी शताब्दी के जगयपेट (Jaggayyapeta) ने स्तूप पर खुदे हुए चक्रवर्ती राजा की पगड़ी दृष्टव्य है। इसके सिर पर ठीक ललाट भाग पर आने वाले गोले को खूब लम्बा और चोंचदार बनाया गया जिससे चक्रवर्ती सम्राट के व्यक्तित्व में एक प्रकार की महानता एवं वाकेपन का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। इसी प्रकार मधुरा, शैली की पगड़ियों में भी एक भिन्न प्रकार का रूप दिखलाई पड़ता है। तीसरी शताब्दी के लगभग गान्धार-कला की आकृतियों में पगड़ी की विचित्रता दृष्टि गोचर होती है। जो गोला सिर के मध्य भाग व ललाट प्रदेश के ऊपर आता था वह दाहिने हाथ की ओर ठीक कान के ऊपर बनने लगा। धीरे धीरे पगड़ी को नाना प्रकार के अलकरणों से सुसज्जित किया जाने लगा। किन्तु गुप्तकाल के कला अवशेषों से जान पड़ता है कि पगड़ी का स्थान मुकुट, घुंघराले वालों आदि ने ले लिया, इसलिए पगड़ी अन्धम्य में नहीं दिखलाई पड़ती। राजपूत काल में (लगभग 650 A. D.—1200 A. D.) पगड़ी का स्थान सम्भवतः कला में कम ही रहा, जिसका कारण संदिग्ध है।

भारत में मुसलमानों के आने के साथ साथ इस ओर क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन देखने को मिलता है। आरम्भिक दिल्ली सुलतान ने अपने माथे पर मोटी मोटी दर्शनी-पगड़ियां पहनते थे जिसके मध्य में कुल्फा या टोपी रहती थी। इसी ईरानी पगड़ी का, विना कुल्फा का एक रूप प्रायः तमाम उत्तर पश्चिमी राजस्थान में अभी तक फैला हुआ है।

भारत में पगड़ी का वास्तविक उद्धारक व प्रचारक बादशाह अकबर महान को माना जा सकता है। इस समय पगड़ी का मान पहले से अधिक बढ़ा। एक कथा है कि जब चारण कवि दुर्गा आढ़ा अकबर के दरवार में उपस्थित हुआ तो नियमवत उसने अकबर को नतमस्तक होकर अभिवादन किया किन्तु इससे पूर्व अपनी पगड़ी को उतार कर एक हाथ में ले लिया; उससे इस अभद्रतापूर्ण व्यवहार का कारण पूछने पर उसने बतलाया कि यह पगड़ी महाराणा प्रताप की भेट हैं और उनकी प्रतिष्ठा किसी के आगे नहीं झुकी, अतः उसने उसे उतार लिया।

अकबर ने भारतीय पहनावे को अपनाया था। उसमें ईरानीपन काफी कम हो गया था। जिसमें विशेष महत्व पगड़ी को दिया। बादशाह ने उस समय की 'अटपटी-पगड़ी को को धारण किया। यह अटपटी-पगड़ी के ईरानी-पगड़ी के मुकाबले में बहुत पतली और प्रायः सिर से चिपटी हुई सी रहती थी। इसके अतिरिक्त कई वार बादशाह दरवार में बिना कुल्फेदार ईरानी पगड़ी भी पहनता था।

कालान्तर में मुगल दरवार में ईरानी वेशभूषा का रिवाज एकदम मिट गया। किन्तु अकबर की अटपटी पगड़ी में थोड़ा-थोड़ा पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी सुधार होते हुए एक विशिष्ट मुगल पगड़ी का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ इसी मुगल दरवार ने भारत में एक मुगल-संस्कृति को जन्म दिया। इस दरवार का अनुकरण राजस्थान के राजपूत दरवारों में भी हुआ। जब राजकुमार खुर्रम वागी होकर उदयपुर में आकर ठहरा तो वह राजा राजसिंह का पगड़ी बदल मित्र बना। इस प्रकार मुगल-पगड़ी का प्रभाव उदयपुर दरवार में हुआ। प्रारम्भिक मुगलों के समय में प्रायः सभी राजपूत राजाओं की पगड़ी एक समान थी। किन्तु अब मुगल दरवार के पृथक्वाद का प्रभाव अन्य राजपूत राजाओं पर भी हुआ, तो उन्होंने अपने अपने दरवारों में अपनी विशिष्ट प्रकार की पगड़ियों का प्रचालन किया। मुगल दरवार की भाँति यहां पर भी की व्यक्ति निजी रुचि के अनुसार पगड़ी का नया फैशन शामिल होता गया। यह बात राजाओं तक ही सीमित नहीं थी वरन् जाति या समुदाय की पगड़ियाँ भी विशेष रूप की होने लगी—इसमें इतनी विविधता आई कि बाद में पगड़ी बान्धने वाले पगड़ी-विशेषज्ञों का अपना अलग समुदाय बन गया, जिन्हें 'पगड़ी बंध' कहा जाने लगा।

जोधपुर के राजा रामसिंह (१८ वीं शताब्दी के लगभग) अपने सनकीपन के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। उनकी इस सनक से उनकी पगड़ी भी अछूती नहीं रही उन्होंने अपनी पगड़ी का विचित्र उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया यह 'रामसायी पगड़ी' सिर से लगभग एक हाथ ऊंची रहती थी।

पगड़ी की बन्धेज के साथ-साथ पगड़ियों का रंग, बेलबूटे आदि का भी बहुत महत्व है। जनम-मरण-परण इन तीनों अवसरों पर पगड़ियों का रंग भी राजस्थान में अलग-अलग हैं। दीवाली, तीज पर पहनी जाने वाली पगड़ियों के रंग बबेलबूटा (डिजाईन) बिल्कुल भिन्न भिन्न है। दीवाली पर परम्परागत काले रंग की पगड़ी पहनी जाती थी। दीवाली के दरवार अपने में दरवारियों सहित राजा काले रंग की पगड़ी ही पहनता था जिसे

पर गोटा एवं सलमा सितारा लगा होता था। इसी प्रकार रानियाँ भी काली पोशाक पहनती थीं। इस रंग का उस अवसर विशेष से गहरा सम्बंध था क्योंकि दीवाली अमावस्या को मनाली जाती है। इसी प्रकार श्रावण की तीज पर, जो कि राजस्थान का महात्वपूर्ण त्योहार था और है, लहरिये की पगड़ी पहनी जाती थी। श्रावणमास में नभ में इन्द्रधनुष होता है, व विजली की चमक होती है; उसी का प्रतिरूप पगड़ी में झलकता है।

राजस्थान में पगड़ी का महत्व दरवार में ही नहीं वरन् सम्पूर्ण जन मानस में था। ग्रामजीवन में भी इसकी महत्ता देखी जा सकती थी। राजस्थान के किसान की रक्षा गर्मी-सर्दी आदि में उसकी पगड़ी ही करती थी। उसकी सम्पत्ति, चिलम, तम्बाखू के रखने का स्थान भी पगड़ी ही थी। महाराजाओं का कीमती से कीमती हीरा-पन्ना पगड़ी पर पहनने वाले सिरपेच या कलगी पर ही जड़ा जाता था। अतः पगड़ी को देख कर व्यक्ति विशेष की स्थिति का आभास हो सकता था। उसके जाति, गौत्र जाने जा सकते थे। इसलिए यदि कहा जाय कि पगड़ी राजस्थानी का प्रमाण पत्र है तो कोई अत्युक्ति नहीं होगी।

सारांश

मंडोवर (स्थल नाम)

महावीर सिंह गहलोत

मंडोवर (जोधपुर) से प्राप्त शिलालेखों में इस स्थान का नाम मांडव्यपुर, मंडोअर आदि प्राप्त होते हैं। इस स्थल का सही नाम मंडोवर है और वह इसकी पहाड़ी पर बने (पंचायतन) विष्णु मंदिर के कारण पड़ा। पठि से छज्जे तक का भाग स्थापत्य में मंडोवर कहलाता है और यह भाग भौमिक स्थिति के कारण मीलों से दीख पड़ता था। इस कारण मंडोवर नाम पड़ा।

डूंगरपुर का संवत् १५२० का शिलालेख—एक विहंगम दृष्टि

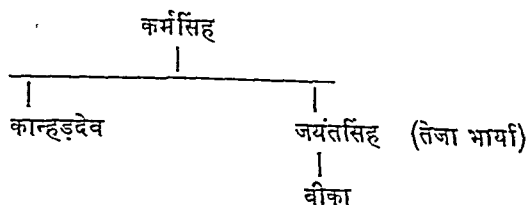
श्रीमप्रकाश शर्मा

राजपूताना संग्रहालय, अजमेर में संग्रहीत संवत् १५२० का अप्रकाशित शिलालेख पर्याप्त महत्वपूर्ण है। यह अभिलेख ई० १६१० में प्राप्त हुआ था। इसमें आहड़ जाति का जो वर्णन किया गया है वह उल्लेखनीय है क्योंकि डूंगरपुर के रावलों को आहड़ वंशी माना जाता रहा है।

पञ्चुड के पौत्र डूंगरसिंह के पुत्र रावल कर्मसिंह की भार्या माणक दे द्वारा विक्रम सं० १४५३ में एक वावड़ी का निर्माण कराया गया था। मञ्चुड और डूंगरसिंह की काल तिथियाँ पृष्ठ प्रामाणिक आधारों द्वारा अब तक भी निश्चित नहीं हो सकी हैं। मञ्चुड के पिता वीर सिंह के लेख वि० सं० १३४३ से १३५६ तक के मिलते हैं। ख्यातों में वीरसिंह द्वारा डूंगरपुर नगर को १४१५ वि० सं० में वसाए जाने का उल्लेख है किन्तु यह तिथि गणानानुसार उपयुक्त नहीं ठहरती। प्रस्तुत लेख में वि० सं० १४५३ जो तिथि अंकित है उस समय तक कर्मसिंह जीवित था अथवा नहीं इस सम्बन्ध में कोई प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं है। कर्मसिंह के पौत्र प्रतापसिंह के वि० सं० १४५६, १४६१ एवं

१४६८ के लेख प्राप्त हुए हैं अतएव ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि संभवतः सं० १४५३ के पूर्व ही कर्मसिंह की मृत्यु हो गई होगी और उसकी मृत्यु के पश्चात् ही उसकी रानी माणक दे ने बापी का निर्माण कराया होगा।

अभिलेख में आगे वि० सं० १५२० में कर्मसिंह के ही वंशज जयसिंह के पुत्र "बीका" के द्वारा बापी के जीर्णोद्धार का उल्लेख किया गया है जिसकी वंशावली निम्न प्रकार से हो सकती है :—



मेड़तिया राठौड़ राव जयमल—चरित्र मूल्यांकन कैलाश चन्द्र दइया

मेड़तिया-राठौड़ राव जयमल भारतीय इतिहास लोक के सर्वाधिक देदीप्यमान नक्षत्र के रूप में आलोकित हुए। राव जयमल असीम पराक्रमी, कुशल सैनानी तथा अजेय-योद्धा थे। वि० सं० १६२४ में चित्तौड़ के इतिहास प्रसिद्ध संग्राम में बादशाह अकबर के विरुद्ध राव जयमल ने जो सैन्य कुशलता तथा अनुपम साहस का परिचय दिया उसका कीर्ति-गान आज भी इतिहास के सुनहरे पृष्ठों में अंकित है।

राव जयमल का अधिकांश समय अपने पिता की तरह जोधपुर नरेश राव मालदेव से युद्ध में व्यतीत हुआ। राठौड़ों की इन दो शाखाओं में आपसी विरोध और वैमनस्य का कारण राव मालदेव का ईर्ष्यालु व भ्रातृ द्वेषी स्वभाव तथा मेड़ता व बीकानेर की स्वतंत्रता को पसन्द नहीं करना था।

मुगलकालीन प्रसिद्ध इतिहासवेत्ताओं ने यद्यपि राव जयमल के शौर्य व साहस की मुक्तकंठ से प्रशंसा की है किन्तु अपने शहंशाह अकबर को एक सफल व तेज निशाने बाज बताने हेतु इस वीर का अकबर के हाथों गोली के एक ही निशाने से मारा जाना लिखा है, जो कि सत्य से परे है। अकबर स्वयं राव जयमल की वीरता, अद्भुत साहस व युद्ध-कौशल के परिणाम स्वरूप इस वीर पर मुग्ध हुआ था।

बादशाह अकबर ने इस वीर को उसके कर्त्तव्यों से विमुख करने की चेष्टा भी की किन्तु वह सफल नहीं हो सका और जयमल के जीते जी वह चित्तौड़गढ़ पर अधिकार न कर सका। इस सम्बन्ध में किसी कवि ने लिखा है कि :—

धन जयमल दानी कृपण तू सारा सिर मोड़ ।

सिर दिधो पतशाह ने, नह दीधो चित्तौड़ ॥

जब तक संसार में वीरता की प्रतिष्ठा, स्थापनता का गौरव और कर्त्तव्य-परायणता का आदर रहेगा तब तक राव जयमल की कीर्ति अमर रहेगी।

अकबर का रणथम्भोर पर आक्रमण तथा संधि सम्बन्धी ऐतिहासिक विवेचन

श्रीम प्रकाश शर्मा

रणथम्भोर का दुर्ग १५५६ ई० में वृन्दी के शासक सुर्जन हाडा के अधिकार में था। समसामयिक लेखक अबुल फजल ने अकबर के आक्रमण का कारण बताते हुए लिखा है कि जब १५६८ ई० में चित्तौड़ पर अकबर का अधिकार हो गया तो रणथम्भोर पर आक्रमण करना आवश्यक हो गया, पर्याप्त नहीं है। इसके अतिरिक्त अकबर की साम्राज्यवादी महत्वाकांक्षा, दुर्ग का सामरिक महत्व, दिल्ली व चित्तौड़ से सम्बन्ध रखना तथा दुर्ग का गुजरात के मार्ग में स्थित होना आदि दुर्ग पर आक्रमण के अन्य महत्वपूर्ण कारण थे।

२२ मार्च १५६९ ई० को सुर्जन ने अकबर से संधि कर उसकी अधीनता मान ली तथा दुर्ग अकबर को दे दिया। संधि के विषय में लेखकों में बड़ा मतभेद है। समसामयिक लेखक अबुल फजल तथा वदायूनी से वंशभास्कर तथा टाड का संधि विषयक विवेचन एकदम विपरीत है। अबुल फजल, वदायूनी तथा निजामुद्दीन अहमद के अनुसार अकबर के घमासान युद्ध से भयभीत होकर सुर्जन ने अपने पुत्र दूदा तथा भोज को संधि प्रस्ताव के साथ अकबर की सेवा में भेजा। वंश भास्कर तथा टाड ने इसे कथा के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हुए लिखा है कि जब अकबर दुर्ग पर अधिकार न कर सका तो मानसिंह के साथ गुप्त वेश में सुर्जन से मिलने गया और सुर्जन ने अकबर से संधि कर दुर्ग उसे दे दिया। वंश भास्कर का यह कथानक जिस पर टाड ने विश्वास किया है असत्य व कल्पित है। इस कथानक का खंडन इन बातों से किया जा सकता है। अकबर सुर्जन के कैम्प में मानसिंह के साथ अकेला जाने की भूल नहीं कर सकता था, इससे उसका जीवन संकट में पड़ सकता था। इसी प्रकार मानसिंह विना सुर्जन के आमंत्रित किए दुर्ग में नहीं जा सकता था क्योंकि यह राजपूत परम्परा के विरुद्ध था। इनके अतिरिक्त अकबर ने दुर्ग को लम्बे समय तक घेरे रखा जिससे सुर्जन को संधि करने के लिए विवश होना पड़ा। अतः समसामयिक लेखकों का वर्णन ठीक प्रतीत होता है।

संधि की शर्तों का अबुलफजल व वदायूनी ने उल्लेख नहीं किया किन्तु संधि की शर्तें हुई थीं। वंशभास्कर व टाड की बताई गई शर्तें ठीक लगती हैं। अकबर ने इस दुर्ग को कठिनता से विजय किया था, इसलिए शर्त मान ली। अकबर राजपूतों की भावना को ठेस न पहुंचाकर उनकी परम्परा को कायम रखना चाहता था। ऐसी संधि चित्तौड़ के समय पहले की जा चुकी थी। अकबर साम्राज्यवादी था तथा अपने को और संकट में डालना नहीं चाहता था।

सुर्जन द्वारा अकबर से संधि कर लेने के कार्य को उसकी कायरता समझा गया परन्तु यह बात सत्य नहीं। सुर्जन और क्षति नहीं चाहता था। यदि नष्ट होकर वीरता का लक्ष्य प्रमाणित किया जाय तो गलत होगा।

अजीतसिंह की हत्या और बखतसिंह

शान्ति प्रसाद व्यास

२८ वर्षों के अनवरत प्रयत्न और कठिनाइयों के फलस्वरूप औरंगजेब की मृत्यु परान्त अजीत की जीवन साधना सफल हुई। जिन विपत्तियों और कठिनाइयों में अजीतसिंह ने अपने प्रारम्भिक जीवन के दिन व्यतीत किये थे उसका अन्त भी उतना ही दुःखमय हुआ। लेकिन अजीत नहीं जानता था कि उसका अन्त उसके ही पुत्र बखतसिंह द्वारा होगा।

समकालीन मुगल इतिहासकार मुहम्मद हादी कामवर खां ने इस अन्त का कारण अजीतसिंह पर ही थोपा है। उसके अनुसार बखतसिंह की पत्नि के साथ अजीतसिंह के अनुचित सम्बन्ध थे और उसी अपमान व लज्जा का बदला उसने पिता की हत्या करके लिया। किन्तु यह मत असत्य है।

यह पत्र उपरोक्त समस्या को सत्य की कसौटी पर तौलने के लिये तैयार किया गया है। बखतसिंह ने अपने पिता की हत्या क्यों की थी? इस विषय पर स्वर्गीय पंडित विश्वेश्वर नाथ रेऊ ने अपनी पुस्तक "ग्लोरीज आफ मारवाड़ एण्ड दी ग्लोरियस राठीड़" में विचार किया है। उनका मत है कि बखतसिंह ने अपने पिता की हत्या किसी व्यक्तिगत मान मर्यादा या अपमान के वशीभूत होकर नहीं वरन् नागौर व ५६५ गांवों के प्रलोभन में आकर ही की थी। इस पत्र में इस मत के समर्थन में अनेक प्रमाण देने का प्रयत्न किया गया है।

महाराणा जवानसिंह के अप्रकाशित ताम्रपत्र

डुर्गलाल माथुर

मुझे जिलाधीश कार्यालय, उदयपुर से अभी हाल ही में दो ताम्रपत्र क्रमशः चैत्र वदी १२ गुरुवार वि० सं० १८९१ व श्रावणवदी ११ सोमवार वि० सं० १८९२ प्राप्त हुए हैं जो प्रताप संग्रहालय उदयपुर में सुरक्षित है। इसी काल के दो अन्य ताम्रपत्रों की प्रतिलिपियों श्री मांगीलाल व्यास से प्राप्त हुए हैं। चारों ताम्रपत्र महाराणा जवानसिंह द्वारा पूर्व दान में दी गई भूमि के विषय में दूसरी बार पूरी जांच के पश्चात् दिये जाने का उल्लेख है।

यह ताम्रपत्रों की आघात वर्धितपट है एवं उपर्युक्त ताम्रपत्रों की खुदाई भी सुन्दर नहीं है। लिपिशास्त्रीय दृष्टि से इनमें ध व घ, स व य, ड व ङ में अन्तर नहीं किया गया है एवं शब्द के बीच में आने वाले २ के पूर्वाक्षर को हलन्त कर र को उसी के साथ मिला दिया गया है जैसे द्रवार, ध्रती, प्रगना।

प्रथम ताम्रपत्र में जो २३ पंक्तियों में है कृपि उपयोगी भूमि का पांच परिवारों को ६ भूखंड दान में दिये जाने का उल्लेख है। तीन प्रकार की भूमि का उल्लेख किया गया है पीवल, गोरमी एवं राखड़। दूसरे ताम्रपत्रों में वटेट एवं पड़त भूमि का उल्लेख भी आता है।

ताम्र पत्रों के आरंभ में श्री 'रामोजयति' और उसके नीचे दोनों और 'श्री गणेश प्रसादातु' एवं 'श्री एकलिंग प्रसादातु' लिखा हुआ है और फिर बीच में भाले का चिह्न व सही खुदा हुआ है व अन्त में इस भूमि को दखल करने व वापिस लेने वाले के लिए निम्न प्रचलित श्लोक का उल्लेख है :—

स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा जो हरती वसुधरा ।

शष्ठी वर्षं ससेन्नाग्नी वीष्ट्रायां जायते क्रमी ।

अन्त में आदेश देने वाले अधिकारी व लेखक के नाम मेहता उम्मेदसिंह व पंचोली सूरतसिंह नाथूरामोत का उल्लेख किया गया है ।

१८५७ का स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम और टोंक

मुहम्मद इवरान खां

१८५७ ई० के विप्लव के समय नवाब वजीरुद्दौला टोंक पर राज्य कर रहा था । इस विप्लव के समाचार मिलने पर टोंक से लगभग दो हजार से अधिक व्यक्ति दिल्ली पहुंचे । इनमें गुलाम मुईनुद्दीन खां रिसलदार, मोलवी अब्दुल शफ़ूर, मोलवी मुहम्मद इसहाक आदि के नाम मुख्य हैं । नवाब ने इस संग्राम में भाग नहीं लिया ।

इस संग्राम के समाप्त हो जाने के लगभग एक वर्ष पश्चात् ताँत्या टोपे, राव साहब, फीरोजशाह, नवाब बांदा आदि विद्रोही ग्वालियर से जयपुर होते हुए टोंक आये । नवाब ने इनका सामना नहीं किया व स्वयं को किले में बंद कर लिया । विद्रोहियों ने किले से बाहर नवाब की बची सेना के हथियार व तोपें छीन लीं । अंग्रेजों की एक सेना के आने के समाचार मिलने पर ताँत्या टोपे व उसके साथियों ने टोंक छोड़ दी ।

टोंक में विद्रोह के समय का सबसे अधिक विवरण फारसी पुस्तक "बाक़ेयात हफ़तदह अमीर व विस्तमाला वजीर" में मिलता है । इस पुस्तक के लेखक दीवान शमसुद्दीन अहमद हैं । यह पुस्तक अभी तक प्रकाशित नहीं हुई है ।

प्रारम्भिक राजस्थान की चित्रकला सम्बन्धी नई उपलब्धियाँ

मोहनलाल गुप्ता

राजस्थानी चित्रकला का प्रारम्भिक इतिहास बड़ा विवाद ग्रस्त है । दसवीं शताब्दी से पूर्व तो कोई चित्र प्राप्त ही नहीं होते । डॉ० सत्य प्रकाश ने दर (भरतपुर) में एक शैल्टर में जो भित्ति चित्र बतलाये हैं जिन्हें पशुओं और मानवाकृति की संज्ञा दी है नितान्त भ्रामकतापूर्ण है यह भित्ति चित्र मात्र पत्थर की रंगों के निशान हैं उनमें चित्र जैसी कोई चित्र प्रतीत नहीं होती । ग्रन्थ चित्रों के अतिरिक्त स्वतन्त्र चित्र सबसे प्राचीन जो पाये गये हैं वे १५०० ई० के भागवत है जो अभी हाल ही में प्रकाश में आये हैं । ये चित्र श्री जगदीश प्रसाद गोयनका के संग्रह में हैं । इन चित्रों के प्रकाश में आने के पश्चात् चावण्ड के चित्र का महत्व भी कम हो गया है । माधुरी देसाई, संग्रह खजान्ची संग्रह के भागवत के चित्र १५४० ई० के माने गये थे पर अभी प्रकाश में आये हुये चित्र १५०० के माने गये हैं । यह चित्र भली प्रकार मेवाड़ शैली के रहे जा सकते हैं ।

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